

The Beer Boom • Preston Manning at the Crossroads

CANADA'S

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Maclean's

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TOXIC TV



WHAT TELEVISION IS DOING TO KIDS
THE V-CHIP DEBATE

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From The Editor

Has Chrétien lost it?



Has Jean Chrétien lost it? That, increasingly, is a question being asked when reporters and pundits sit down with their cabinet and back-scratching sessions. The speculation is fuelled by the appearance that Ottawa is bereft of a firm policy line on the most vital issue of the day—Quebec—and by the seemingly erratic swings from Plan A to Plan B.

A senior bureaucrat in Ottawa observes that Chrétien seems "to have lost his centre of gravity" since the referendum, lurching from one side to the other, much the way Brian Mulroney appeared long and rudderless after the defeat of the March 26 constitutional agreement. There is, in the observable manner of the Prime Minister's own incoherence and weakened appearance: "He just does not look well," says a senior premier who recently met with Chrétien.

Intimates insist that Chrétien is still very much in charge—in fact, that might be part of his problem. His and a small inner circle have indeed been making it up as they go along, without much consultation among cabinet or caucus, or without any sustained effort to bring supporters into the loop.

A case in point was Chrétien's decision to support the court challenge by Guy Bérard in Quebec, wherein the former Parti Québécois member is attempting to establish that Quebec has no right to leave Canada unilaterally. There were many powerful voices around Ottawa urging him to keep the federal government out of the fray. Indeed, among his Quebec enemies, there was only a minority of howlers, prominent among them Treasury Board President Marcel Masse and Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stéphane Dussan. Most significant among those lined up against the Bérard intervention was Finance Minister Paul Martin, who, lately, is on the outs with Chrétien and his inner circle. Opponents at grand that the gesture was too close to half, that Bérard is a

wild card on the Quebec scene, that it was the wrong time and the wrong case on which Ottawa should take a stand.

And what happened? Lucien Bouchard blundered instead of calling an election, as he had vowed to do, he cancelled a scheduled meeting with Chrétien and went into a little solo—only to escape last week at Chrétien's side after a discussion about mutual co-operation to fix the economy.

Ottawa had dug in, not because of a policy, but because of Chrétien's go-it-alone political style, the same approach that got him into trouble in the referendum. "We have begun to assert and challenge how they would do this, even if they do win the vote," says a Chrétien supporter in Ottawa. "We're beginning to fill the vacuum."

That may yet prove to be an idle boast. But for now, it is about the only note that intimates have to cling to. Certainly there is precious little encouragement to be found among most provincial capitals, where many premiers seem to want to ignore the Quebec issue. They engage up members of Saskatchewan premier Ron Thatcher,

who declared in 1996: "In Saskatchewan, if we had a hundred problems, the Conservatives would be the hundred and first." Last week, Ontario's Mike Harris told a New York City audience that the chances of Quebec seceding were "slim." And when Ontario Premier Howard Brindley Harris and a new Ontario cabinet constitution to the Constitution in late May, he demonstrated how support for separatism is growing in Quebec as fear about its consequences diminishes. As for self-described "B.C. fighter" Glen Clark, he seems reluctant to get involved either. If Jean Chrétien is lost, he seems to have a lot of company.

Robert F. Lee



Chrétien with Bouchard go-it-alone political style

Newsroom Notes:

The back of the book

It is the magazine world, it is called "the back of the book." It is Maclean's it deals with a range of subjects from health, science and medicine to lifestyle, sports and the Royal Family. It is the part of the magazine



Watcher: Julie Watcher

that covers "unofficial Canada," where people live their lives. This week's cover story, a back-of-the-book project overseen by Assistant Managing Editor Bob Levin, looks at the effects of television on kids.

The writer was Associate Editor Joe Chedoke, a self-described "lousy" tube watcher. Says Chedoke: "Talking with people about the effects of television has made me take a

long, hard look at my own TV viewing habits. After much deliberation, I've decided to give up infomercials."

Readers could care less

Several readers complained about Fred Brannan's use of "bold care less" to mean "bold not care less" in his May 27 column. That increasingly common error is recognized by both Webster's and the Oxford English Dictionary as a synonym for the conventional expression



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'Canada's self-respect'

Robert Freedland may well be "Canada's next billionaire," as your article claimed (Cover, June 3), but the mother lode he struck at Wiley's Bay, Labrador, is not his

mine," (June 3). How ridiculous I realize that his comments were (mis)quoted in-spite, but his attitude is clear. To him to know how it is the free market's fault that unemployment is high when we have such high government expenditures in the economy and have led at the country for so many years. Did he stop to think for a minute that it is this socialist attitude that got us into this mess in the first place? The free market isn't operating as efficiently as it could in the face of socialist government, and to lay the blame on modern capitalism is absurd.

Anthony Wilson,
Montreal, Que.

After reading Charles Gordin's piece, I felt I had to comment here. It is the one opinion column I've read that I've totally agreed with. Well done, Mr. Gordin. We can only hope that the television executives eventually become as obedient as you, although, admittedly, there is little hope of that.

Gail Sterling,
St. Albert, Alta.



Overhead, the mother lode is not his but belongs to the last and best time of Labrador.

but belongs to the last and best time of Labrador. No money has so far been made between them and the Canadian government. Is this an important little detail? For the sake of the mine and the last, but even more so for the sake of Canada's self respect, I hope not.

Corinne Popkoht,
Guelph, Ont.

An absurd notion

I am getting very tired of left-leaning people in this country blaming everything they see as a problem on "modern capitalism" and the smaller conservative movement. Charles Gordin (opinion) in his latest column that modern capitalism has conspired to give us more television channels to diagnose the fact that it is going on fewer jobs ("The Morse Network is no longer a

Getting physical

It is incorrect to say that "moderate activity" three or more times a week carried health benefits similar to more vigorous workouts ("Slow motion exercise is really enough," Life, June 30). The greatest increase in public health benefits occurs when the units become moderately fit. This is where the largest decrease in mortality rates show up. Moving from sedentary to moderately active is like moving from a failing grade to a C. But it is not an A. To get an A, people have to be highly active. From a researcher's perspective, the studies discussed were not convincing. They add evidence to the fact that sedentary living is a major health risk. What is different is that most studies, focusing on vigorous physical activity and its relationship to cardiovascular health and disease, established that vigorous activity did make a difference. Now that it is established that being active has broader health benefits, researchers are investigating the effects of lower levels of activity on a wide variety of health outcomes. What we know now is that even a small increase in an individual's activity level helps to increase the health benefits from his broader perspective. Canada has been a world leader for many years in

Drug tolerance

In your article on drug policies in The Netherlands, you wrote that youths enjoying Dutch tolerance in the streets of Amsterdam was "not exactly what Canadian addicts had in mind when they fought to free Holland half a century ago" ("The limits of tolerance," World, June 30). I could not disagree more strongly with this statement. Perhaps because Holland has experienced firsthand the devastating results of intolerance and persecution of minority groups, it is reluctant to participate in what is essentially a worldwide pogrom against marijuana users. Holland's policies of tolerance and harm reduction provide an excellent example of the ideals for which Canadians went to war. Canada would do well to follow the Dutch example, and end our own continuing persecution and senseless harassment of marijuana smokers.

Chris Laiden,
Editor, Canadian Cannabis,
Vancouver

building consensus about the health benefits of physical activity. Encouraging Canadians to be more active has been working. First in 10 Canadians were active about every other day in 1951. By 1995, this had risen dramatically to seven in 10 Canadians.

Chris Lynn Craig,
President, Canadian Fitness and
Lifestyle Research Institute,
Ottawa

'A family dispute'

I believe I am the senior executive referred to in your story as the one responsible for "manipulating suitcases." From Mitchell out of the plane when he dropped by ("High noon in Saskatoon," Star, April 29). This is entirely untrue and I believe Mr. Mitchell would agree it is false. He spent close to two hours at our restaurant having coffee and talking with the employees that were there. I went to see him and we talked about a business matter that had been the purpose of his visit. He was satisfied that appropriate action had been taken to resolve the matter. I then said I was somewhat uncomfortable with him there in the circumstances and he said he understood and would I call a taxi for him—which I did. I am loath to be drawn into a family dispute, but this false information reflects badly on me and the other professional managers in the company.

Jim Kirk
Vice-president finance
Saskatoon-based Jackson Ltd.
Saskatoon

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Maclean's welcomes readers' letters. But letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply names, addresses, and daytime telephone numbers. Submissions may appear in Maclean's electronic files.



MANITOBA DEALER OF EXCELLENCE AWARD WINNER

Robert D. Ramsey

We proudly salute the Maclean's 1996 Manitoba Dealer of Excellence Award winner, Mr. Robert D. Ramsey, President of R. D. Ramsey Limited located in Carberry, Manitoba.

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Robert captured the Manitoba

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Column



Diane Francis

The Winds of Change are gaining velocity

A Calgary conference of conservatives in late May called the Winds of Change, which I attended as a delegate, examined ways to unite the right. British Columbia's election, days later, showed what happens when the right is divided. On May 28, some 60 per cent of British Columbia voters ended up with a socialist government they did not want. That was because the right, or in this case "voter values" running under the labels of Reform and Liberal, were divided and conquered.

The fact that our political system does not always reflect the wishes of the majority has dogged Canada's democracy for decades. Parties with less than 50 per cent of the popular vote routinely gain power, which can lead to unpopular policy shifts and inevitable voter resentment. The failure to establish coalition candidates on either the left or the right—as happens in other countries such as the United States or France—results in the electoral rollercoaster ride that characterizes Canadian politics. Such ideological swings cause economic instability and alien cynicism among the electorate.

The British Columbia election result proved that Winds of Change was on the right track. Days later, federal Conservative leader Jean Charest showed more than ever the need to unite the right when he proposed a brilliant scheme between Reformers and Tories in Ontario's *Brent* riding to field a joint candidate in the next federal election. The idea was revealed at the conference and endorsed by its delegates.

But as soon as the proposal hit the headlines, Charest was on the telephone to Brian Taves and talked them out of the joint venture. That decision could mean that, unless either the Reform or Tory party is obliterated in the next election, the Liberals might win the seat without majority approval, as did 27 of the 36 Ontario Liberals elected in 1994.

So Charest was once again putting himself and his party before the values that conservatives represent. His strategy, like the Reform party's, will be to simply play the political equivalent of a game of chicken and hope the other conservative competitor is driven off the road. But if that doesn't happen, an opponent with out a majority will likely win. The problem with such an outcome is that it means winners can do what they like without consequences. Political power without consent leads to arrogance, laziness, indifference or a combination of all three.

Of course, the best solution would be for the Reform and Progressive Conservative parties to merge into one organization. In fact, the right split only when former prime minister Brian Mulroney's government obliterated the western Tories, mostly because of its preoccupation with and favoritism towards Québec.

But Charest, as well as Reform Leader Preston Manning, has

viewed any notion of a merger at the top. The joint candidate idea in *Brent* was a brilliant end-run around the leaders and its failure is unfortunate. But there are other possibilities and processes that should be considered.

Even in Northern Ireland there have been occasions of consensus. In one British general election, Northern Ireland Protestants threw their support behind a Catholic candidate in the face of an electoral district by Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army terrorists.

In the United States, the primary process results in coalition candidates from the right and left, as exemplified by Pat Buchanan fall by the wayside until a consensus candidate is agreed upon. Unfortunately, the primary process is lengthy, arduous and terribly expensive. But perhaps a riding-by-riding runoff among Conservative and Reform candidates could do the trick.

A far more efficient means of promoting consensus rule occurs in France, where there are often two rounds of voting. The first ballot usually features several candidates, but unless one gets at least 50 per cent plus one of the votes, a runoff election is held among the leading candidates. Anyone who received less than 12.5 per cent of the vote is eliminated from the second round. This leads to electing someone on the basis of garnering coalition support from the followers of those candidates eliminated from the second race.

But the Swiss do it best. There, all members of parliament are forced to work together in order to help choose a seven-member cabinet, from which a president for a one-year term is selected.

Of course, such changes here would require an amendment to our Constitution—something that is probably impossible to achieve. So, in the absence of successful reforms, Canadian political leaders who did not get a majority of the vote must be taken to task if they run through extremist policies. They should also be embarrassed and pitiless when they don't join forces against a clearly defined danger.

It is unfortunate that Charest refused to renounce the Bloc Québécois as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition by joining forces with Reformers. The Bloc has been allowed to demoralize Canadians and embarrass them internationally because, as the Opposition, its separatist issues have dominated Parliament's agenda. By contrast, until Reform recently lost some of its members, a Reform-Tory coalition would have had one more state than the Bloc and could have made their responsibility and power more the nation's priority.

Recent political events underscore the fact that Canada's democracy is flawed. As Winds of Change demonstrated, it remains the responsibility of our leaders to fix the flaws or to compensate for the system's shortcomings by behaving like statesmen and not like self-interest rivals.

Opening Notes

Edited by SHARON DOYLE DUNNE

Nudes for a Russian monastery

Chance, art and commerce combined to deliver Winnipeg pop photo-booth artist Diana Thorneycroft and 15 of her stunning self-portraits to Moscow last week. The artistic odyssey began in Edmonton last year when Russian state culture representatives saw—and liked—her work in an exhibition. Lacking the revenue to mount a similar exhibition in Moscow, they began brokering the bankers for they lived up a varied array of backers that included a downtown hotel restaurant, a pro-



Thorneycroft's artistic self-portraits

ducer provided much again? As it was, she was a disgruntled custodian at the exhibition. "A Russian museum," she sniffed, "is not the place for such photos."

A rift at the top?

Finance Minister Paul Martin came close to resigning in mid-May, claims a Martin confidant. At the weekly Liberal caucus meeting, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien told his MPs that Deputy Prime Minister Sheren Coombs might not have had to resign, and he would not have had to call the June 27 by-election in Hamilton, if Martin had not apologized for being unable to keep the party's promise on the GST. That infuriated Martin, who cleared his speech continuing the apology with Chrétien's staff. (Officials in the Prime Minister's Office insisted that Martin had



gone further in the Commons than in the cleared script.) Chrétien's comments—in the white caucus and in Martin's presence—left the finance minister weighing his options for several days before he decided not to quit, says his supporter. But the incident has raised the question that had largely been ignored since Martin handed Chrétien for the leadership in 1996. And it renewed suspicion among Martin's people that Chrétien remains wary of Martin's political success and his ability to get things done in Finance.

Chrétien, Martin: renewed suspicion

Habitat: an urban invasion

As more than 2,000 delegates from around the world gathered in Istanbul for Habitat II, a UN-sponsored conference on ways to make cities more livable, they had their work cut out for them. The conference, a follow-up to the Habitat conference in Vancouver in 1976, had, among other things, three facts to consider:

- Of the world's current urban population of 2.6 billion, 600 million do not have the means to meet their basic needs.
- In 1950, fewer than 20 per cent of the world's people lived in cities. As the century draws, the figure is almost 50 per cent. By 2025, two-thirds will be urban inhabitants.
- More than 90 per cent of that increase will take place in developing countries.
- In 1950, New York City was the world's only city with more than 10 million inhabitants. Now, Tokyo is the only one with more than 20 million inhabitants. By 2015, it is expected to be joined by Bangkok, India, Lagos, Nigeria, Shanghai, Jakarta, Indonesia, São Paulo, Brazil, and Karachi, Pakistan—with Beijing, Shenyang, Bangalore, and Mexico City close behind.

'Spellbound' in Paris

Comic boomers from Calgary and Nagoya, Japan, converged on Paris last week, hosting duckling dinner parties and making live presentations—open for the night in hotel Elysée 2005. Calgaryites distributed their landmark white cowboy hats to delegates of the 42-nation Bureau International des Expositions. They also gave an

extended-format 40-minute presentation—with comic videos, a future street press conference and red-sunglazed Mounties unfurling a huge Canadian flag. A decision is expected next June. And although Nagoya is proposing a larger Expo, the Calgaryers are optimistic. The presentation was "received very, very well," declared an enthusiastic but cautious chairman, Jack Perkinson. "They were spellbound."

A Prairie voice

Worried Prairie author W.O. Mitchell, 82, left a hospital bed in Calgary, where he is being treated for prostate cancer, and travelled to Winnipeg last week to address the annual meeting of the Miller's Union of Canada. Some highlights:

"Death and solitary family art, which draws human elements together in a mortal family, seeking them against the heart of darkness—Humanism must comfort each other, defend each other against the terror of being human."

"All artists make art, and the result is an important ingredient in the recipe for culture, for they are the bridge and patterns which connect us, which create human solidarity."

"Artists, philosophers, historians know that man is a finite, warm sack of vulnerability, and because of this knowledge they do have an unfair advantage over politicians and generals and quarterbacks."

From his cow house, is this his great cottage?

Right at home

Perhaps it was the "darling guest cottage" situated in the red estate blurb that caught David Fries's attention. Or the Victorian-style mansion's location on almost half an acre in northwest Whistler town's suburban Wesley Heights. In any case, his new home in the U.S. capital will serve as his base for active American conservation. Knowledge gained during the past two years of working with his father's property development firm in Toronto, have helped the 38-year-old libertarian connoisseur to arrange the foundation: Fries got the place from feckless entrepreneur Laurence Head for just under \$1.5 million—knocked down from the asking price of more than \$1.6 million.

BEST-SELLERS

- FICTION**
1. *The Shipping News*, John Macdonald (2)
 2. *The Truth Inside*, John Macdonald (2)
 3. *Arctic Circle*, C. Anne Pratt (2)
 4. *The Girl on the Train*, Lisa Fiedler (2)
 5. *The Woman Who Walked into Doors*, Julia Cook (2)
 6. *Fast as You Can*, David Macdonald (2)
 7. *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
 8. *Black Swan*, A.J. Smith (2)
 9. *The Prisoner's Wives*, Barbara Taylor (2)
 10. *From Billie to Her Son*, Anne Macdonald (2)
- NONFICTION**
1. *Boom, Bust & Echo*, David Fries (3)
 2. *Simple Economics*, David Fries (3)
 3. *Red China Blues*, Jan Wong (2)
 4. *Thinking*, Julia Cook (2)
 5. *Walters' Wild Encounters*, David Fries (2)
 6. *Red on a White Horse*, David Fries (2)
 7. *The Great Lakes*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
 8. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 9. *The Great Lakes*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
 10. *The Great Lakes*, Michael Ondaatje (2)

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Passages

AWARDED: To biochemist Tah Mah, 48, the General Motors Cancer Research Foundation Silver Prize, for an international panel of scientists. Mah, the first Canadian to win the 17-year-old award, will share the \$135,000 prize with Dr. Mark Davis, 44, of the medical school at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif. The panel selected Mah, a senior scientist at Toronto's Ontario Cancer Institute, for his ongoing contributions to



immunity stemming from his 1994 breakthrough discovery of how T-cells, white blood cells that fight foreign bodies, recognize cancer cells. That finding is considered the key to the potential development of a cancer vaccine.

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Manning facing Reform MP Debora Grey. To break through in Ontario or to a right-wing NDP?

Manning at the crossroads

To govern or to snarl, that is the question

How many politicians does it take to grow a combine?
Three or four. It depends how fast you find out.

—Two-term Reform MP Debora Grey

The contradiction in a newspaper version of the House of Commons taking aim at "politicians" as though they were a different species, seemed to be lost on 1,300 Reform Party of Canada delegates assembled in one of Vancouver's largest convention halls. To them, Grey is a grassroots hero: the party's first elected MP. But as Reform struggled to shake off weeks of self-inflicted embarrassment with a display of unity and tolerance at its annual policy assembly last weekend, the joke that Grey told to kill time during a delay in the program was not the only failed message. On the assembly's first day, delegates voted the house of a resolution intended "to affirm the equality of every individual." But they did so only after first stripping from the declaration the key adjectives: "without discrimination." The offending words, one delegate objected during debate on the resolution, might have meant that "parents [would] have no right to object to a homosexual teacher."

Whether the amended resolution would, in fact, give parents the right to force gay teachers out of the classroom was debatable. Nonetheless, the ambiguous message set the tone for the June 6 to 9 assembly. Successfully delegitimizing most of the differences between moderates and pro-conservative hardliners that grad-

uated predicted could crack the party open in Vancouver, Reform delegates from every province and territory rallied around leader Preston Manning. Manning, meanwhile, used the occasion to set out Reform's strategy for the run up to the next federal election—based partly on a cautiously different notion of human rights in Canada and partly on a tough carrot-and-stick approach to Quebec. Still, observers were left bemused by a barrage of policy resolutions that at times were contradictory, at odds with logic or constitutional realities, or simply ungrammatical.

Critics focused on the omission of the key anti-discrimination clause from the equality resolution as further confirmation of Reform's alleged insensitivity on human rights issues—if not its outright intolerance. Liberal justice cabinet minister Raymon Chan, for one, expressed outrage at Reform's stand. Without its key clause, Chan charged, "this so-called equality resolution means nothing." And in fact, the position adopted in Vancouver rivaled from one that Manning had set out before the assembly, when he asserted "Our party affirms the right of Canadians to be free from discrimination." Pleading Manning, in a hastily scheduled news conference minutes after the resolution was passed "Give ordinary people some credit. The ordinary people these ideas are moderates. And if you get enough of them together, they will balance out any kind of extremism."

It was a balance Manning badly needed to strike. Controversial statements by two of his MPs—and the defection of a third—have

thrown his party onto the defensive since April. First, B.C. Reform MP Bob Kenna told reporters that he would fire a black or homosexual employee from a retail store if customers objected to their presence. Days later, Alberta Reform MP David Chilton compounded the damage by saying of homosexuals that "society has a right to discriminate against them in certain instances." Manning suspended both from the Reform caucus as of at least next month. At the same time, he also suspended a third Reform member, Alberta MP Jan Brown, for publicly criticizing her caucus mates as too conservative. Brown subsequently left the party. With his caucus in tatters, Manning also took himself under personal attack in the days leading up to the assembly. A mostly anonymous group of dissident Reformers based mainly in Ontario was calling for a review of Manning's position, alleging heavy-handed leadership from Calgary.

In the event, there was little sign in Vancouver of a serious challenge to the 54-year-old Manning leadership. Although Brown received a warm welcome when he first entered the assembly hall, the former Canadian Forces major-general and former his suspended party whip also made it clear where his loyalties lay: "In case there is any doubt, I am a Reformer," Brown declared to rampant applause. "Reformers are my people." Said political scientist Alan Whitehorn, a visiting professor at nearby Burnaby's Simon Fraser University who attended part of the assembly as an observer: "My sense is that this is a party very much under the direction of the leadership."

With his support seemingly secured among Reformers on the eve of a leadership vote on June 9, Manning reached beyond the party rank and file in a keynote speech on Saturday that was explicitly addressed to Canadians at large. In it, the Reform leader laid out the appeal that he felt would be the most effective to what he called "worried Canadians." Sketching a scenario of a working couple with children, facing the loss of one income and fears

for their financial security, Manning told his followers that their task was to "offer understanding and hope." He called for lower taxes, a more "personalized" social security system, and a tougher approach to justice—especially youth crime.

Manning's speech also reflected Reform's plans to position the party as the only one ready to "drive the national unity issue to resolution." Laying out new details of his vision for constitutional reform, Manning called for a realignment of federal and provincial roles that would leave Ottawa with drastically fewer, but much strengthened, powers. Among 10 strengths he listed: the Criminal Code, management of monetary policy and external trade, and the setting of national standards for social programs and the environment. All other powers, including native language protection, would devolve to the provinces. At the same time, Manning warned his followers that an intolerant major jeopardizes Reform's success. "Many will be reluctant to vote for us," he said, "because of the perception of narrowness and extremism—however unclear those things may be—and lead to rent. And who is going to lay it to rest, if not us?"

But if Manning's early plan was made clear, the same could not be said for the policy initiatives that emerged from the Reform grassroots. Several resolutions that delegates approved called for the federal government to "take action to break through the stale, or for others that would be unconstitutional. Among the latter was the contested equality resolution, which also called on Ottawa to scrap what it called "group rights." According to University of Victoria law professor Cheryl Chase, a former legal counsel for the Canadian Human Rights Commission, such collective rights are deeply embedded in Canadian history and the Constitution to protect indigenous and religious minorities. (Observed Chase: "You can't constitutionally remove protection for these kinds of groups.")

Reform strategists coast on the party's promises of lower taxes, safer streets and a conclusion—finally, one way or another—to the country's protracted Quebec crisis to deliver the critical seats it needs in Central Canada. "We have to break through in Ontario," Manning cautioned last week, "or we will be just a right-wing NDP" (a minor criticism in the 1990s, that is a far perhaps only a little better than winding up as another grease

CHERRY WOOD with AGOST KOSKELA in Vancouver



Waiting in the wings

Reformers may have been grabbing most of the public attention with their conversion to the political right, but their main rivals on the political right were speaking out as well. In a clear reference to Reform's high-profile divisions over social policy, Progressive Conservative Leader Jean Charest pressed conservatism with a human face when he addressed the Confederation Club in Ottawa. He also pointed the finger at national unity efforts of electing a party that he said is only open to Quebec. "At the end of the day, our enemy would be vented leaving ourselves apart and thus trying to picket ourselves together again," said Charest. Later, in an interview with Maclean's, he said that threat, along with concern about Reform's extremist fringe, will restore the forces to national prominence—despite the fact that the party suffered in 1995 when they were reduced to two seats in the House of Commons. Charest was also blunt in his assessment of Preston Manning and his movement: "Here we have a leader and a party that will never govern Canada," he declared.

In speeches across the country, the 57-year-old lawyer from Sherbrooke, Que., has been working hard to distance himself from Reform, while at

the same time consulting party members and preparing for an August convention in Winnipeg that will determine the party's future direction. The party, whose membership has grown to well over 100,000, also received \$5.6 million in 1995. Charest says its debt, which reached a peak of \$7.8 million after the last election, will be down to \$1.5 million by the end of this year. But to achieve a Tory resurgence, Charest must also convince voters that his party has learned from its mistakes and is the best alternative to the governing Liberals. At the same time, talk of a merger between Reform and the Tories has cooled, despite a recent poll showing that such a union under Charest's leadership would put the party within six percentage points of the Liberals.

Conrad Black, chairman of COMPAHS Inc., the firm that conducted the poll, says that Charest's stark Liberalism—performed during the Quebec referendum campaign created a public image that is his party's greatest asset. "The Tories are doing better because Charest is the most charismatic leader of any of today's parties," he said. The question is whether that charisma can return the Progressive Conservatives to the political parades land.

LANCE FLETCHER in Ottawa

A new tune in Quebec City

Bouchard plays down separatism—at least for now

In Lucien Bouchard's version of events, it was a mere temporary lull, the result of fatigue at the end of a grueling three-day visit to the United States. It prompted him to deny to public what had taken place in private during separate consultations with his "close advisors." "There were no questions about sovereignty," the Quebec premier categorically declared—seven times—as he described the encounters. Unfortunately for Bouchard, that was not the view of aides to Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, who insisted that the governor had in fact expressed fears about the impact on Canada of Quebec's separatist objectives. When confronted with the contradiction, Bouchard was forced into a humiliating retreat. "I really blew it," he acknowledged on his return to Quebec to face a storm of criticism, not least that he had deliberately led "I simply did not remember."

It was not the only occasion last week that Bouchard's memory landed him in trouble. The premier spent much of his time during a quick trip to New York City and a subsequent tour of three New England states attempting to justify, through a highly selective interpretation of recent events, a sudden reversal of policies and attitudes that astonished friends and foe alike. He began the work in New York by assuring a \$250-a-plate luncheon audience of influential Wall Street investors that he had no plans for either an early election or another referendum, covertly overlooking the fact that barely a month ago he was once again threatening both. He ended the week with a face-to-face meeting in Quebec City with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, an



Chrétien, Bouchard in Quebec City. By "mutual understanding," no talk about the Constitution

encounter he had abruptly cancelled last month after accusing Chrétien of creating a crisis to destabilize his government. "No, no, no. There was no crisis," argued a memorably transformed Bouchard, insisting that it had been his intention all along to meet with the Prime Minister. "I did not change my mind," he asserted. "I'm sticking to my original agenda."

If that is true, it was certainly a well-kept secret. For in the middle of May, Bouchard, reacting to the federal government's decision to intervene in Quebec City lawyer Guy Durrand's high-profile attempt to have a court outlaw any unilateral declarations of Quebec independence, had angrily declared that he could no longer see himself "sit[ting] with Mr. Chrétien in a photo op, smiling and shaking hands and talking about business as usual." Last Friday, however, that is precisely what the Quebec premier was doing, sitting with the Prime Minister in a photo

opportunity at the historic Citadel on last month after accusing Chrétien of creating a crisis to destabilize his government. "No, no, no. There was no crisis," argued a memorably transformed Bouchard, insisting that it had been his intention all along to meet with the Prime Minister. "I did not change my mind," he asserted. "I'm sticking to my original agenda."

The tour met for two hours inside the imposing 170-year-old military fortress that serves as one of the two official residences of Canada's governor general, emerging to stand side by side before Jared Custand and Quebec flags. By "mutual understanding," the Constitution was not discussed. Rather, the Prime Minister and the premier reached agreement on three projects aimed at spurring economic growth in the province. They agreed to \$60 million in funding for a railway bridge crossing the St. Lawrence River at Quebec City, pledged to co-operate on ensuring that a future pipeline from Nova Scotia's Sable Island natural gas fields would be routed through New Brunswick and Quebec rather than directly to U.S. markets, and gave the green-

light to a new feasibility study for the controversial proposal to construct a high-speed rail link between Quebec City and Windsor, Ont. Both such were quick to point out that the railway study involved no financial commitments from any government, at least not yet. Bouchard said the study, expected to be completed in four months, will be funded entirely by the private consortium led by Quebec's Bombardier Inc., which owns North American rights to the French technology for high-speed trains.

Both Chrétien and Bouchard

"No, no, no, I did not change my mind. I'm sticking to my original agenda."

were careful to steer clear of any provocative remarks, particularly when each was asked if they were not strengthening the other's political cause by agreeing to co-operate. The Prime Minister decisively feigned that he was not seeking sovereignty. And Bouchard remarked that helping to boost Quebec's economy is "good for everyone, whether or Quebec remains part of Canada or eventually becomes a sovereign country. In the end, it will be democracy that decides that issue."

No matter what the eventual outcome of the encounter between the two leaders, the more that they met did signal a sea change in the constitutional atmosphere that has dominated recent relations between Ottawa and Quebec City. That Bouchard is largely responsible for the altered mood seems beyond doubt. For it is he who is vouching a new tone, or at least returning to the conservative, business-oriented themes he has pursued since he took office last January. Those concerns were clearly in evidence last week in the 20-minute address he delivered to 250 New York investors gathered in the city's elegant Plaza Hotel. He assured his well-heeled audience that the economy, fiscal controls and job creation were his immediate priorities, even if that meant conceding several points down the road remains independence. "Quebecers have not forgotten about their political preferences, either for sovereignty or federation, but they are quite willing to take a break from the subject," he said. "The smart money knows

this is the time to buy in Montreal. The prices are low, the opportunities great."

Bouchard even managed to display the same he seemed capricious over the past month with yet another demonstration of his curiously selective memory. It was "propositions" from the federal government in Ottawa that were largely to blame, he suggested, as he charged himself to the media chairman Michael Chabon in the movie *The Godfather*. "Like Corleone in the last installment of the film, he is trying to practice virtue but they keep pulling him back," he said, drawing a few chuckles. "We will resist, we will resist."

By and large, Bouchard's message was generally well received, by his public audience at the Plaza Hotel, as well as during private discussions with credentialed agencies, the New York Times editorial board and the governors of New York, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. "The economic message was very encouraging to Wall Street," said Robert Horowitz of the Wall Street investment house Goldman Sachs. At the same time, however, some members of New York's financial community expressed a palpable sense of disappointment with Bouchard's overall performance. "I think some of us were expecting more," said investment banker Robert Ullrich. "His speech was as exciting as reading a prospectus, which is not what you'd want to hear from someone who, after all, is addressing earth-shaking policies for Canada."

Wall Street investors got a double dose of Canadian politics last week, as Ontario Premier Mike Harris had another business audience in New York that there is "a very good chance of Quebec separating. Harris went to New York to reassure investors that the Conservative government has put Ontario's fiscal house in order after one year in power, but he ended up addressing the constitutional issue. "I think the chances of a separation between Quebec and Canada are slim, absolutely zero," he said. "I don't see any possibility."

While Bouchard returned to Quebec, he faced disappointment of another sort—not only because of his focus about his conversation with the Massachusetts governor. He is adopting a conservative, cost-cutting agenda, traditional left-leaning groups that helped to propel him to office. Already there are murmurings of discontent among nationalist members of the Parti Québécois, the radical separatist and sovereignist party. Like Bouchard's new allies in the business community, they, too, may be wondering about the premier's minority

BARRY CANE is Montreal writer and MARK CARDPPELL is Quebec City

Mike's Picks

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CANADA

Were three stowaways thrown overboard?

Somewhere between Spain and Nova Scotia, three Romanian stowaways were tossed overboard and swallowed up by the ocean. Murder—plain and simple. Or was it? Last week, as the mystery of the Taiwan-registered container ship *Maersk Dubai* deepened, little seemed absolutely certain. What is undeniable is that eight Filipino crew members jumped ship in Halifax on May 27 with a homicide tale of murder on the high seas. The accusations played out against dramatic images of crew members swimming for sanctuary and a subsequent boarding by gun-toting RCMP. Beware that the murder charges against the captain of the vessel and its 16 law officers, all Taiwanese, have only sparked a nearly legal tug-of-war involving international treaties, the Law of the Sea and criminal statutes in three countries. The critical first act of the legal drama will be played out later this month in an extradition hearing before the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

In the course of supplier developments last week, Romanian prosecutors now in Halifax took the hardly unusual step of issuing a news release claiming that an RCMP investigation had discovered enough hard evidence—including a switch belonging to one of the vanishing stowaways in the cabin of one of the ship's officers—to justify extraditing the Taiwanese for trial. The RCMP has not commented on the results of its search, or on the news release. The Romanian action did not sit well with Prince Yung, a vice-president of the Taiwanese shipping line King Ming Transport



Along Yung Chiu outside court: Having Romanian justice

Cong, which owns the vessel. Appearing in Halifax in support of the officers, Lung accused Filipino crewmembers of fabricating the murder allegations because they had quarrelled with the ship's captain about overtime pay. Relatives of the accused also vented their frustration, weeping in court as lawyers discussed the process that could end with their family members being handed over to a country they describe as repressive. "In Romania, even their own people don't want to stay, so how can we send our people to Romania?" said Kung Yung Chiu, the wife of ship captain Cheng Yung Chiu. But cold legalities, not family emotions, will determine the fate of the seven officers now sitting in a Halifax-area jail. Romania, which has an extradition treaty with Canada, wants them tried under its laws. Ottawa does not even formally recognize Taiwan, which has hired the law firm of high-profile Toronto lawyer Edward Greenough to argue

The courts examine allegations of murder on the high seas

to have the men tried in their own homeland. But its case is buttressed by a widely recognized principle of international law, which states that a nation has legal jurisdiction over any ship-carrying its flag. The preference of the accused, who fear being tried in Romania, is clear. "None of the crew members fears going home to Taiwan," said Duncan Beveridge, a Halifax lawyer representing ship's radio operator Cho-Min Jung. "If discharged from the extradition to Romania, they will go home to Taiwan."

The jurisdictional question will be thrashed out starting on June 22 in the province's Supreme Court. Should the court determine that Romania has jurisdiction, lawyers for the Nova Scotia department of justice—acting under the terms of a bilateral treaty—will turn to the evidence.

"Under the extradition treaty, the test is not whether a person is guilty of the charges," noted lawyer Craig Gannon, who represents Ko-Lung Wang, the ship's chief cook, "but whether the available evidence could convince a jury to bring in a guilty verdict."

How strong is the case? Filipino crewmen who first reported the cruises in Halifax police say that two men were forced onto a makeshift raft off the coast of Spain on

March 12, while a third man was thrown overboard on May 16 during another voyage. Stowaway Nicolas Pisco, 23, who survived the May journey, said he originally boarded the ship with another man, named Rado Sarin, who eventually left their hiding place—and never returned. Romanian authorities contend that the Taiwanese crewed the three men-board to avoid paying Canadian government fines of \$7,000 per stowaway for transporting illegal aliens. There is also undisclosed physical evidence gathered by

the RCMP during their two-day search of the ship. That evidence was to be revealed during a court hearing this week.

The defence lawyers were at least talking confidently. They claimed that the physical evidence against their clients is sketchy and the eyewitness accounts were contradictory and uncorroborated. "The question is when the stowaways came off the *Dubai* and where," one lawyer told Maclean's. "We've seen evidence that one was discovered in port in Spain and taken off there. And there are some indications that others were sent overboard as close as a mile from shore, which, at the very least, would not appear to be murder." That something strange happened aboard the *Maersk Dubai* is clear. But in a case where it is not clear who the victims were—or even if they actually existed—answers are proving hard to come by.

JOHN DEMONT in Halifax



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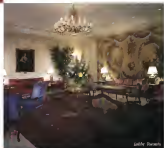
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Canada NOTES

ALLAN ROCK AND AIRBUS

In a claim filed in Quebec Superior Court, lawyers representing former prime minister Jean Mulcahey in his \$50-million libel suit against the federal government said that Justice Minister Allan Rock sparked the RCMP probe into the Airbus affair by passing on to the Mounties information from sources that he later publicly admitted to be unreliable. Questioned in the House of Commons, Rock said he had played no role in starting the investigation, which eventually led to allegations that Mulcahey was involved in kickbacks related to the 1988 sale of 34 Airbus jets to Air Canada.

SORTING IT OUT

Ruth Cardwell, a senior communications strategist with the Privy Council Office, told the Senate inquiry that David of the Defence Staff Gen. Jean Boileau summoned her to his office in April to discuss the destruction of military documents—an issue both knew they would be asked to testify about at the inquiry. Cardwell, a former senior national defence public affairs officer, said Boileau seemed to be "trying to sort out in his own mind what he knew and didn't know" about a policy of destroying within 72 hours written responses to media inquiries regarding the military's 1992 mission in Somalia. Cardwell also testified that Boileau took ultimate responsibility for the fact that fabricated written documents were sent out in response to access-to-information requests.

A MOTHER IS CHARGED

Police charged Brenda Drummond, 36, of Quebec City, Que., with attempted murder after doctors discovered a lead pellet in the head of her week-old baby boy. Police said the infant, who was in critical condition suffering from meningitis as a result of the wound, was shot with a pellet just two days before he was born. Drummond was ordered to undergo a 30-day psychiatric examination.

TOWARDS FREER SPENDING?

The Alberta Court of Appeal upheld a lower court ruling that federal restrictions on election advertising by third parties are unconstitutional. The law, which was challenged by the National Citizens' Coalition, allows for individuals or groups to buy no more than \$1,000 of advertising supporting or opposing a candidate or party during an election campaign.



Romanow, Glen, Martin, Dastous, Kilian, Kleier talking on Ottawa

A united western front

During a meeting in Dawson, Yukon, the four western premiers and two territorial leaders accused Ottawa of seeking ends of diversity through discriminatory tax policies such as the recent move to harmonize the federal Goods and Services Tax with provincial sales taxes in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. Angered by Ottawa's decision to give those three Atlantic provinces nearly \$1 billion in compensation

the federal government to give them greater flexibility in how they deliver social programs, and to stop using its spending power to dictate the terms of those efforts. In particular, they proposed that a new federal-provincial committee take over Ottawa's traditional role of interpreting the Canada Health Act—legislation that was recently used to prevent private health facilities in Alberta from enrolling patients.

SCHOOL REFORM

MPs opt for change

In a free vote, the House of Commons agreed to amend the Constitution to allow Newfoundland to reduce the amount of control that shields students over the province's school system. It means that Newfoundlanders and approved by a slim margin in a referendum last September. MPs voted 170 to 105 in favor of the amendment, which would lead to a consolidation of school boards and, the province estimates, savings of \$25 million a year. But it was opposed by 85 Liberal MPs, who expressed concern over allowing decentralization by protected minority rights as well as the precedent it could set in Quebec for amending the Constitution on the basis of a minority vote. The amendment now moves to the Senate, where it may face tougher odds. Conservative Leader Jean Charest opposed it in the Commons, and said he will ask his constituents to take a closer look at whether a compromise solution is possible.

Spies go back to the cold

Three lawyers had threatened a bitter court battle. But when Federal Court of Canada proceedings opened in Toronto into Ottawa's alleged to do just allowed Russian agent Dmitry G. Shamshov and Victoria Oshchepkova, also known as Dan and Laraine Lamberti, the couple announced that they would leave the country quietly. According to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the Lambertis, now estranged, arrived in Canada six years ago and established identities based on the names of dead Canadian children. Their willingness to forgo a court hearing means that CSIS will not have to present any evidence against them. Former intelligence officers, meanwhile, and that the Lambertis are just the tip of the iceberg. "No one really knows how many of these people are here," said Abigail Henkel, a former senior CSIS official. "So few of them ever surface."



The Lamberti with officer (right) leaving quietly



Notion supporters at a rally in Moscow's Red Square last week. The arguments split voters, refugees and families

been noticeably reluctant to acknowledge the labor camps, mass repression and other dark aspects of Soviet rule. He tells voters, "Only the Communists will make Russia great again and not a neutral state of the West."

Polls last week indicated that the supposedly 51-candidate race had become a showdown between the two men. Yeltsin seemed to be ahead, although the pollsters themselves admit that their craft is far from precise (page 58). Most probably, though, neither man will get the 50 per cent of the vote needed for an outright win, in which case a runoff between the two top finishers is expected to take place three weeks later. But since, however, seems doubtful that the issue will be decided by a simple counting of ballots. Expectations of cheating are rampant. After the votes are in, a current joke goes, an aide will bring the names to Yeltsin. Yegorin has received a convincing 50 per cent of the July 1st not to worry—Yeltsin has received much more.

It is natural that Yeltsin is the focus of attention. Not only is he the incumbent, he is also the symbol for all the changes that have occurred during the five years he has held the presidency. It has been a rough ride for most Russians. There have been two coup attempts and the Soviet Union has disappeared. And the New Russia that

emerged from the old empire has been wrecked by its own vices: hyperinflation, industrial collapse, a savage anti-war in Chechnya, and rampant crime and corruption. More than half the population has suffered a sharp decline in its standard of living. That has prompted the old, the discontented and the disappointed to seek shelter under the massive red banner of the Communists. But Yeltsin, the wartime party boss, has played on fears of renewed lawlessness and repression should the Communists win. Many voters appear to accept the argument. Said Marian Yashukina, a 44-year-old bookkeeper who braved wind and cold in Arkhangelsk to vote Yeltsin: "We have come too far to suddenly change everything back to the old ways."

Besides making the Red Menace, Yeltsin has played Russia with election promises. So much so that Economics Minister Yevgeny Yasin warned that Yeltsin's 410 billion worth of pledges were "absolutely unrealistic" and would bust the budget. His boss was undaunted. "I have come from hell with ball pockets," Yeltsin told business on his way through the north. Russia. One of the most familiar aspects of the campaign has been Yeltsin accepting his black leather pen to sign another decree favoring older pensioners, small businessmen, students or whatever group of voters he is wooing at the moment. Yasin aside, no one in the government talks about where the money will come from.

As if the advantages of incumbency were not enough for Yeltsin, Russia is awash with speculation about election fraud and what the president will do if the losses become large from the preventive-strike threat—Yeltsin appointed governors in the provinces during the vote counts as they came in—to Yeltsin simply relating to give up power. Yegorin has warned his followers to watch proceedings at all 97,000 polling stations across the country to reduce chances of trickery. Not to be outdone, Yeltsin adviser Georgiy Satarov has accused the Communists of readying armed units for a illegal seizure of power. While denying that charge, Yegorin did not rule out an embargo if the first election was suspicious, says Yeltsin. Said the Communist leader: "If people vote, they have the right to insist that their will be taken into account."

The swirl of rumors tends to obscure the fact that Yeltsin is a superb campaigner. Newly fit and evidently staying off the vodka he has long enjoyed, the 60-year-old president has wisely engaged his strongest support for a man who has solved serious heart problems twice in the past year. He was at the top of his game in the recent negotiation of a ceasefire in Chechnya, late last month. Leaving Chechen rebel leaders virtually hostage in a Moscow guest house to ponder their agreed truce served Yeltsin well. Yeltsin established his credibility as a leader with a lightning-fast visit to the war-torn region. Televised images showed him surrounded by soldiers as he signed a presidential decree on the steel shield of an armed personnel carrier. Inevitably, the sense receded the busy days of August, 1995, when Yeltsin stepped a horseback and accidentally killed Russians in a couple of hours by heading Chechnya.

Anyone that the army played a decisive role in keeping him in power during that challenge and another in 1993, Yeltsin has vigorously courted Russia's huge military role. He has pledged increased aid for the cash-strapped defense industry and vowed that as an early volunteer soldier will serve in Chechnya and other hot spots. He has even promised to absorb the entire airborne division and convert the army to an all-volunteer force by 2000. But it is still not certain if Yeltsin will get what he has described as the key to staying on in the Kremlin: clear signs of progress in ending the war in Chechnya before the election. That depends on Chechen field commanders holding

WHAT THEY WOULD DO

The economic platform of reformist President Boris Yeltsin and Communist challenger Gennady Zyuganov differ greatly on such key issues as nationalization, agriculture and foreign involvement. But they share some positions. They have a new electoral commitment, for instance, to economic integration with the former republics of the defunct Soviet Union—voluntarily, that is. Critics, though, focus on an other similarity: their policies of generous redistribution. Yeltsin does not explain how he would finance it while pursuing tight-money policies. Zyuganov does, but his Soviet-style prescription could breed high inflation and shortages. Key promises:

YELTSIN

- Continue the International Monetary Fund's recommended program of privatization, economic reform and foreign loans.
- Increase social outlays, reducing on pensions and health care, to fuel a spending boom and kick start the economy.



- Bring down the inflation rate (currently 1.4 per cent) to five per cent by the end of the century.
- Eliminate the budget deficit by 2000.

- Achieve a four-point annual growth rate by 2000.
- Increase minimum wages and salaries gradually to help the poorest members of society.
- Index pensions and salaries to the inflation rate and compensate people for savings lost to the high inflation of the early 1990s.
- Sell off former collective farms to individual owners.



- Encourage purchase of local goods by imposing protectionist tariffs, lifting out subsidies and keeping energy and raw materials costs low.
- Block the break-up of communally owned farmland, although the privatization of small enterprises, apartments and cottages would not be reversed.

The showdown

Russian voters prepare to make a historic decision

Who should it be? As this Sunday's presidential election approaches, Russians were more divided, more unsure, than at any time since the collapse of the Soviet Union five years ago. Should they proceed with the wrenching social changes initiated by President Boris Yeltsin—or return to the communist post order leading challenger Gennady Zyuganov? Refugees from Russia's future have split cities, towns and villages, right down to individual homes. Yegor Soudzhenkov used to work on an assembly line in Moscow's 230 car factory—before layoffs at the struggling plant swept away his job two years ago. Now he works as a trader, shuffling back and forth by bus to Turkey to buy cheap clothes for resale in Russia. "It's a much harder life now," he says. "I must travel all the time, everything costs so much and everyone from border guards to the mafia, they want my money if I want to keep on selling." But while he misses the predictability and order of the Soviet era, the 54-year-old trader has reluctantly decided to vote for Yeltsin. "People forget about the shortages under communism and how the party controlled everything. Now, I feel that despite all the problems

with crime, there is opportunity and I'm in charge of my own life." Inna Smolenskaya's wife, feels differently. "I don't like Yeltsin," she says. "Five years ago we had enough savings to buy a car, but inflation turned it into small change. Certainly, the stores are full of goods, but who can afford them? I'm for the Communists—but what if, as Yeltsin says, we go back to the old ways of repression?"

Some choice, indeed: back to communism or forward with an administration that is widely seen as corrupt and remote from the people. The two leading candidates embody the contradictions and tensions wracking the country. Yeltsin's message to voters is: the worst is over; stick with the devil you know. "Remember," he told a crowd during a recent visit to the northern city of Arkhangelsk, "you are not just voting for a president, a cause, but for a whole course of action." Yeltsin presents himself as the only viable democratic candidate, although he has done little to create a genuine democratic organization. Communist leader Zyuganov, meanwhile, is trying to hold together an anti-Yeltsin coalition that stretches from extreme nationalists to unreconstructed supporters of former Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. In pursuing a socialist-minded platform, he has



ON ASSIGNMENT
MALCOLM GRAY
IN MOSCOW

to the shaky ceasefire—and Yeltsin maintaining control over Russian commanders still pushing for a military solution to the conflict.

Yeltsin, though, has insisted on not expending domestic having 500,000 party members to put against Yeltsin's access to state resources and grip on state television. When he does get press coverage, the Communist leader despite by has to endure hostile questions and personal insults. "Who could imagine going into the eyes of Yeltsin and imagining him as the father of one's children?" sneered the popular weekly magazine *Glasnost* (Honesty) recently. But when ordinary voters actually meet him, many say that they are reassured by his admissions and apologies. "He is not as colorful as Yeltsin but that may be all to the good," said Dmitri Bykov, a farm worker who chatted briefly with the Communist leader at a Moscow news rally recently. "I'm tired of the fireworks that come with Yeltsin. I just want a normal life."

Yeltsin certainly can't match Yeltsin's performing skills on the campaign trail. Cordless microphones in hand, the president eagerly responds with voters to show that he is healthy, sober and once again engaged with the problems of ordinary people. "What, have you no questions for me?" he teasingly asked a surprised group of dispirited women, including one from the southern Ural region. At other times, the president has played to the Russian desire for strong leaders—barking at the Chechen rebel leaders in the Komsomolsk to sit down and begin negotiations. The barking Yeltsin, by contrast, hardly dominates a room.

Sometimes it is hard to pick out the 55-year-old former KGB officer from the handful of bodyguards and aides who accompany him as he takes ordinary trains and planes across Russia's 11 time zones. Late in response to pleas from his advisers to lighten up a little, Yeltsin has begun to join in dances at his rallies and even tell a few jokes. When asked how much he drinks, he found a way to mock both Yeltsin and the architect of a highly unpopular temperance campaign during the 1990s, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. "I don't say that I drink less than Boris Yeltsin," he said, "but I drink less than Boris Gorbachev."

Yet if Yeltsin is somewhat wooden in public, he is also a shrewd politician who has managed to unite most of the opposition to Yeltsin behind him. Like some of his former supporters, Yeltsin backed the failed coup of 1991 and 1993. But he carefully avoided playing a key role and was distant from the hard-line when the putsch started. Yeltsin is equally careful about tailoring his message to his audience. Before Jewish businessmen he plays the moderate, soothingly telling them that a Communist government will respect all forms of property and that Russia wants foreign investment. But in the so-called Red Belt—the towns and cities whose Soviet-era factories are dead or dying—he suddenly blames foreigners, especially the United States, for the ruin Russia is in. According to Yeltsin, Washington's hidden plan is to turn Russia into a resource colony, let someone hoards oil and gas flow out to meet the needs of Japan provided by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund.

And he waxes the superpower past in a glow of nostalgic rhetoric, leading to charges that he is rewriting history. Yeltsin has said that 50,000 people perished killed fewer than one million people instead of the 20 million cited by many historians. He also argues that the regime of former Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin was free of repression. He is so sure, he says, that he can acknowledge that even-reviled Stalin. But he says, "Let us concentrate instead on the victory over fascism in the Second World War and Stalin's role in it." Now Russians are again at a great turning point in their history. The world will know soon if they will make a decisive break with the past or decide to embrace it. □



Moscow's first deputy mayor Putin secured his success in two past elections

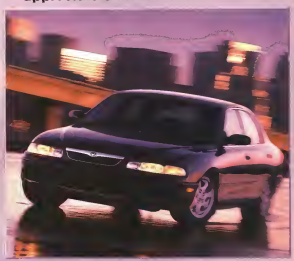
THE PERILS OF THE POLLS

By a good poll results that show President Boris Yeltsin surging past Communist rival Gennady Zyuganov, Russian aides have begun to talk of winning an outright victory in the first round of the presidential election on June 16. Hang on a minute. These surveys were taken in Russia—a country where, until recently, taking politics with an inquisitive stranger could lead to all sorts of unpleasant complications. Now even the pollsters concede that their findings may be somewhat suspect. At a round-table discussion that brought together 11 major polling organizations in Moscow recently, the participants stressed that the elections' validity makes it difficult for a poll to be anything more than an extremely rough guide to voters' preferences. Said Yurya Betanel, director of an influential poll at the independent Institute of Parliamentary Sociology: "Most Russians do not belong to a political party, so that makes it difficult to determine how they will vote. Instead of political convictions, we are trying to deal with political moods."

Betanel's words carry weight with his colleagues. Among pollsters, he correctly predicted that ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party would do well in the 1999 and 1995 parliamentary elections at the expense of pro-government candidates. Until recently, Betanel's surveys on the presidential race were in odds with others that showed Yeltsin pulling ahead of his main rival. Now, however, even Betanel holds that the president has at least grown level with the Communist candidates. That finding leaves most surveys to a common conclusion: He is certainly well on his way to the 50 per cent of votes needed to win, and Yeltsin and Zyuganov will face each other in a second-round runoff election. But Betanel warns people not to take his latest forecast too seriously. "Just because we got it right last time, does not mean that we will do so again."

Betanel has been successful in part because his polls use 6,000 respondents in 250 cities, towns and villages. Other agencies survey 1,500 people or so and tend to ignore rural voters. "Most tend to rely on telephone surveys and many people who live in the country do not have telephones," says Andrei Nersisyan, the acting director of another Moscow-based institute. Other sociologists note that many Russians do not like being questioned about politics and do not always reveal their preferences to a stranger on the phone. And when they do answer, many deliberately shade their responses in favor of the current authorities. "But what can you do?" asks state television broadcaster Nikolai Svandina. "There is, at the moment, no more accurate way of gauging public opinion." One final problem from August's much-maligned pollsters: All say that with the stakes so high and the campaign so intense, more than 80 per cent of the country's 105 million voters will turn out to vote on Sunday.

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WORLD

symbolism for both Muslim and Jew. Netanyahu must decide whether to complete the palace or limit its powerful symbolism in his government's new overseas defence minister Ariel Sharon, who helped deliver the archetypal Jewish vote to Netanyahu. Sharon wants the troops to stay to protect Steven's Jewish minority.

«The red, green, black and white Palestine flag will appear in the hot breeze over the headquarters of the Palestinian Authority in East Jerusalem. But Netanyahu considers its presence a violation of the Oslo accord, which does not give the Palestinians a political role in Jerusalem. He has vowed to close it.

«Netanyahu's choice for cabinet will be dictated just how hard he plans to be. Agassi, most observers were watching to see how he handled Sharon. For the man who conducted Israel's ill-fated 1992 war in Lebanon, the defence portfolio would appear to be a non-starter. But others believe Sharon will have close to nothing what post Netanyahu offers. «Even if he is minister of economics, he'll get a low settlement to put up a settlement and call it an environmental planning station», said a senior Joseph Agassi, director of the Jerusalem office of the American Jewish Committee.

Making peace, of course, is a quest. Yasser Arafat must also stick to the letter of

Oslo or risk losing the process itself. Netanyahu will demand that the Palestinian Authority hand over suspected terrorists. He will likely not allow Arafat to lodge his commitment to remove calls for the destruction of Israel from the Palestinian covenant (it is now being rewritten). Following Netanyahu's victory, Arafat sought silence at a moment with Arab neighbours.

«There is a personal chemistry» between Netanyahu and Clinton

born in the Jordanian desert of Amman. «Sooner or later there will be a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital», he said.

Whatever optimism prevailed last week seemed to rest on Washington's personal ability to cope and control Israeli policy, no matter who a prime minister. «Israel is the daughter of America», said one Palestinian man in explaining the Palestinian consensus on why it refused title to them who governs Israel. The Jewish state is heavily dependent on \$5.5 billion in annual American aid, more than Washington gives any other country. As Yoram Ettinger, a Likud parliamentarian who has been treated as a possible ambassador to Washington,

told *Middle East*, Netanyahu «has always seen U.S. relations as the backbone of Israeli security policy».

Certainly, Netanyahu's years spent in U.S. universities and as Israel's UN ambassador have made him comfortable in American politics. Zalman Shoval, ambassador to Washington under the last Likud government, said that Netanyahu and U.S. President Bill Clinton first met during the 1992 New Hampshire primary. «People will be surprised to find that there is a personal chemistry which goes back to that initial meeting», said Shoval. He added that when the two men met in Jerusalem last March, Clinton told Netanyahu: «We are not going to tell Israel how to achieve peace.»

But in Washington last week, state department spokesman Nicholas Burns was doing just that. «Our policies have not changed», he said. «We still support total forgiveness.» That opens the question of whether Netanyahu, like past Likud leaders, can afford to feel American pressure, a brand of Israeli nationalism that plays well in parts of Israel. The past four years of Labour's policies matched those in Washington—«a striking exception», noted Ettinger. «Now we are back to the traditional policies which are not the same as those of the United States.» All of which should make for dashes ahead, at high volume.

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World NOTES

A NATO EXPANSION

Russia softened its opposition to an enlargement of NATO, making the organization's plans to include some former Soviet Bloc countries "inevitable," said Secretary General Javier Solana. At a meeting in Berlin, former heart of the Cold War decade that gave rise to the U.S.-led alliance, the 16 NATO members also voted to reduce its military wing to give European powers a larger role.

FLAMING OUT

French scientists blew up an \$11-billion rocket in under just 37 seconds after takeoff when it appeared it could crash to earth. French media railed about the loss of the first Ariane 5 satellite rocket, which took down \$800 million in uncoupled scientific equipment after its launch at the European Space Agency centre in French Guiana. Initial investigations pointed to a problem in the rocket's electronic guidance system.

NERVOUS IN HONG KONG

Canadian diplomats in Hong Kong rushed to dispel alarm about next week's transfer of the British colony to China after newspapers reported plans to evacuate up to 150,000 Canadian passport holders in the event of an emergency. Canada's commissioner said emergency plans are routine for diplomatic posts around the world and rejected a claim of imminent threat from Beijing or fears about Hong Kong's stability.

CZECH ELECTION UPSET

Reformist Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus lost his majority in national elections, leading to calls for his resignation and a power struggle with the second-place Social Democrats over the structure of a new parliament. Klaus is the only Western-style economic liberal left in power in eastern Europe after a wave of victories by former Communists.

RUMORS IN CAMBODIA

Rumors that notorious Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot had died were denied by a spokesman for the Cambodian genocide group. Thai intelligence sources, who have close relations with the blood-soaked faction, also denied the reports. Pol Pot, 68, disappeared from view in 1978 as Vietnamese troops ended his three-year reign of terror, which killed more than 2 million people.



PASSING THE MANTLE: Former anti-apartheid activist Rev. Njongonkulu Ndungane (left) was voted Cape Town's Anglican archbishop to succeed Desmond Tutu (right) at the end of June. Ndungane, 53, spent three years in the notorious Robben Island prison, where President Nelson Mandela served most of his 27 years in jail. Tutu, 64, who won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for opposing South Africa's racial policies, now heads the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigating apartheid-era crimes.

Outrage over a Lagos murder

Canada intensified its effort to impose an international economic embargo on Nigeria after the wife of imprisoned opposition leader Moshood Abiola was murdered. Rufus Abiola, 44, was driving to the Canadian High Commission in Lagos to discuss her husband's case when she was shot in the head by unidentified gunmen. The military dictatorship that seized power after Abiola's election as president in 1993 offered a reward of \$14,900 for information about the killer. But Canadian politicians and human rights ac-

tivists charged that the killing was a political assassination. Thousands of Nigerians staged demonstrations, soon hailed by authorities, to urge Western nations to impose still stronger sanctions. Three Canadian companies that formerly supported Nigerian oil have voluntarily stopped. But Ottawa has been frustrated by the reluctance of powers such as Britain and the United States to back an embargo, which Canada has pushed for since the hanging last November of activist-writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others.

Goose-stepping into Olympic controversy

Controversy erupted over the French synchronized swimming team's plans to perform a "Holocaust-inspired water ballet" at the Olympics. Swimmers were to goose-step into the pool area to Nazi military rhythms and re-enact Jewish suffering to music from the film *Schindler's List*. The team and it intended to protest nationalism, but the theme was quickly banned by the French government. In the same week, a French physics teacher was disciplined for asking students to calculate how much gas Nazis needed to kill Jews. The teacher said she thought the exercise would help educate students about the Holocaust. Jewish and anti-racism groups said the two cases demonstrated inequality about the past.



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Cartaway's collapse

Questions linger about a troubled penny stock

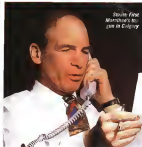
ESSAY

By JENNIFER WELLS

"You know, I almost died last year, dear!" That is Marjorie Pearson talking, and judging by recent telephone calls, that is what she starts conversations these days. That the Vancouver mining promoter has not yet passed to the great celestial-mistaking rush in the sky is evidence for the party he is throwing on June 19 and 18 in Las Vegas—craps, roulette, blackjack, and crocodile-skin shoe fashions welcome—and by the fact that he is selling on 150,000 shares of Cartaway Resources Corp., which is a story in itself.

Cartaway, listed on the Alberta Stock Exchange, is an elusive "penny popper," or "penny deceiver," depending on one's stock position.

In 1983, the company shares traded at a low of one cent. In the first quarter of that year it hit 30 cents. In its heyday, Cartaway listed 3,000 900-gallon garbage containers to the City of Kamloops, B.C. The future seemed, well, limited. A corporate takeover by the person of Michael Stuart, not just a broker with First Marathon Securities Inc. in Calgary, but the firm's top guy in that city. In a subsequent buyout, Stuart, in November, 1995, Cartaway announced that its board of directors, led by Stuart, who had become Cartaway's president, secretary and promoter, had decided



First Marathon's Marjorie Pearson in Calgary

to relocate the business efforts away from garbage containers and towards exploration opportunities in Labrador and Greenland.

Thus was born a classic mining promoter, the likes of which Canadian investors have been buying into for, oh, a half-century or so. It was classic in the sense that it turned out to be an amazing find, in this case the Voisey's Bay nickel discovery in Labrador. Classic in the way that a corporate "shell"—the garbage company—created access to a stock exchange and the investing public. And classic in the way that the promoter's principals, including Stuart, got Cartaway's "cheap stock," getting in as low as 12 1/2 cents.

It was the brain wave of Stuart, and fellow First Marathon brokers in Vancouver, to pool exploration prospects, juggle

up claims from the likes of Vancouver promoter Jimmy John. Management was hired—John Henry, named along with Pearson from trading on the Vancouver Stock Exchange for all of 1991, took over the presidency—drill rigs were leased, and the promoters who scored on Henry's piled-in, industrial, somewhat bought stock, peddling it up, then started looking at their profits. In mid-May, Cartaway hit \$20. Then it cratered. The ASX shot down, beaten by the after-volume of orders.

That the ASX is a widely speculative exchange does not excuse the Cartaway debacle. Cartaway's first offering was releasing visual estimates of one of its Garage Property in Labrador. Based on an eyeball appraisal, the company was touting "massive sulphides," and then the presence of the per coat to 30 per cent sulphur, which, in the end, usually indicates a massive copper pipe. Trouble was, subsequent assays proved the visual estimate to be about as close to the truth as Jupiter is to Mars. Henry's defence is that "everybody makes mistakes." If that is all it was, the Cartaway collapse still begs an examination of the standards of report on mineral exploration. Certainly more stringent standards would have made life easier for at least one Toronto broker, who spent 2 1/2 days a week keeping investors out of the highly speculative Cartaway. This sage broker found himself on occasion with an investor who had made \$25 million on Calgary's Bre-X Minerals. The junior mining market has been running wild. Investors, he says, have been throwing money at the wall. Last week, the junior market started to edge up, but the market blow-off was really churning on confused assay results from the likes of Tinkituk Gold Corp. and Nexco Resources Ltd., the latter a Jimmy John company that has been touting a fabulous platinum find in the Arctic.

The larger issue is the information. Mr. Stuart, First Marathon, run by Lawrence Bloomberg out of Toronto, is conducting what it politely calls a "review" of the Cartaway offer. The critics on this one are very bad indeed. It certainly does not fit with the refined Bloombergian sensibility to have his low-keyed colleague in Calgary acting like a two-bit snake promoter. And given the design of the deal, it is hard to see Cartaway as much more than a get-rich-quick scheme for brokers, a view reinforced by Stuart's selling of some of his own stock before the crash. Some might wonder where First Marathon's Canadian department, the company's internal watchdog, is in the story. First Marathon talks of shades of grey, as it tries to manage the consequences of Stuart's actions. Others have no difficulty seeing the story in black and white. □

WHAT GOES UP

Chasing price of shares in
Cartaway Resources Corp.

June 7
\$2.28

May 1
\$3.75

SOURCE: ALBERTA STOCK EXCHANGE

Planting seeds of hope

Larry Maguire finished seeding on his farm south-west of Banff, Alta., May 25, just a few days later than normal. But the amount of rainfall in the area has varied so widely that there are farmers 30 km away who could only start seeding about the same he was completing the task. "We had an inch and a half of rain when others were getting three," explains Maguire, president of the Regina-based Western Canadian Wheat Growers Association. Unseasonably cool

crisp years of poor growth had encouraged Prairie farmers to watch from wheat to alternative crops, such as canola. As a result, there was little stock to cushion the blow when a severe drought seriously damaged the U.S. winter wheat crop that year. Analysts say that U.S. wheat exports next crop could fall by 30 per cent or more. Other grains—including corn, grown primarily in Central Canada—are also fetching high prices. In fact, corn hit \$278 a ton this spring—a full \$100 higher than

Seeding in Alberta: the crop is a long way from the top



wet weather this spring, and floods in some regions, delayed seeding in many areas of Western Canada. But with key exceptions—including parts of Manitoba and northeastern Saskatchewan—most of that seed was finally in the ground last week. All of which means that Prairie farmers will get a crack at record grain prices this year—beating drought, insects and more bad weather. The crop "is a long way from being in the bag," says Maguire. "That the potential is there to provide some decent returns. Certainly, I think the feeling is optimistic."

Small wonder The Canadian Wheat Board is projecting that it will pay between \$271 and \$289 per ton for its benchmark No. 1 Western Canadian Red Spring Wheat after the coming fall harvest—the highest price ever and at least double the \$124 paid the year ago. Those prices reflect a wheat shortage that has seen world stocks plummet to their lowest levels in at least 20 years. Experts say that demand for grain has been increasing, particularly in Asia and Latin America. At the same time, supplies have fallen in recent years due to a sharp drop in several key producing countries. In addition, sus-

tained weather delayed some planting, producers will expect strong—though not record—prices in the fall. Of course, the current costs of feed grains have come as a blow to cattle producers. And even among wheat farmers the buoyant mood is tempered by the realisation that, where insects in wheat into account, prices are still lower than in the boom years of the early 1970s. Meanwhile, farmers' costs—particularly for transportation—have increased in the past year. Analysts also note that farmers who seeded last spring could face increased yields and lower grain

quality if frost strikes early in the fall. On the other hand, now that they have most of the seed in the ground, farmers in many areas are seeing favourable conditions for germination, timely maturation, and adequate weeding. No one is uncoupling the champagne just yet. But after years of depressed growth, western Canadian wheat growers finally have something to smile about.

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Business NOTES

GREYHOUND TO FLY

Overriding the National Transportation Agency, the federal cabinet has granted a licence to Greyhound Air, a new discount carrier based in Calgary. The company tried to get off the ground in April, but regulators opposed it because of foreign-ownership concerns.

HYDRO SELL-OFF URGED

The Ontario government should allow competition in the electricity market and force Ontario Hydro to sell 76 power stations to the highest bidder, a new report says. The study's author, former federal Liberal Ontario Minister, says his recommendations should lead to lower prices.

REACHING FOR THE SUN

A group of senior managers at Toronto Sun Publishing Co. wants to buy the company from Rogers Communications Inc. Led by CEO Paul Gedling, the management team has an offer of \$1.9 billion to buy the Sun tabloids in Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton, as well as The Financier Post. Montreal-based Quebecor Inc. has also expressed an interest in the newspaper chain.

MOVING TO QUEBEC

Canada's largest grocery chain is attempting to crack the Quebec market. Owned by Toronto-based George Weston Ltd., Loblaw Companies Ltd. may open as many as 10 stores in Montreal next year. The Province has supermarket chains, 37 per cent owned by the Montreal-based Geste de dépôt at placement du Québec, currently dominates Quebec with 40 per cent of the market.

CINEPLEX TO EXPAND

Taking advantage of the depressed real estate market, Toronto-based Cineplex Odeon Corp. plans to add 500 screens to its chain of 1,500 movie theatres across North America. The three-year expansion drive will cost an estimated \$140 million.

LOST OPPORTUNITY

A labor dispute has cost Canada's thoroughbred horse-racing industry the \$11-million Breeders' Cup. A new site will be named for the seven-race thoroughbred extravaganza, after the clerk who takes bets at Toronto's Woodbine Race Track rejected a mediator's recommendation. About 700 clerks were locked out on Feb. 28 in a dispute over pay and scheduling.



Suncor's operations in Fort McMurray, an expected boost in exports

Rising optimism in Alberta's oil industry

Business firms are returning to Alberta's oil sector. In what some say is the largest growth spurt in 25 years, energy companies are planning to expand a major Chicago-based pipeline and build a new 800-million-barrel pipeline from Alberta to Wyoming. Together, these projects should result in additional exports of 410,000 barrels a day of crude oil—equal to about 20 per cent of the country's current total oil production. At an average price of \$20 a barrel, the increased sales are

expected to generate \$8 billion a year.

Much of that oil will come from northern Alberta's massive oil sands projects. In Fort McMurray last week, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien hailed the industry's \$5.4-billion expansion of oil sands production over the next decade. Although Alberta's oil sands projects date back to the 1960s, only in the past few years has new technology significantly lowered the cost of extraction. "It's been a rocky road, but it has turned out to be a great success story," says Ian Doherty, editor of Doherty's Energy, an industry newsletter. He says that oil from the

large Suncor Canada Ltd. project in Fort McMurray cost \$17 a barrel to produce in 1985, compared with \$13-15 now. For an additional benefit, the technology developed for Alberta's oil sands is now being exported to a variety of other countries, including Venezuela and Australia. Since the 1970s, about 1.7 billion barrels of oil have been recovered from the sands, but experts estimate that another 300 billion barrels remain—more than all the oil reserves in Saudi Arabia.

TAKING OVER

Battle for Voisey's Bay

The latest chapter in the billion-dollar fight for Voisey's Bay resources in Little Rock, Ark., this week. A subsidiary of Vancouver-based Diamond

is trying to overturn a recent court decision that it own 17.7 by Diamond Corp., a defense contractor, mining company, and project. Voisey's Bay, which has been producing 14,000 tons of nickel ore for two clients, who have had claims to

Diamond's "invasive" Voisey's Bay nickel find in Labrador. "I thought everybody would be happy to be involved in working something out," he says. "My suspicion now is that Diamond's plans have until August to close the deal with the local workers to keep all of its options open."

Tilden takes another road

Tilden Car Rental Inc., a family-owned Canadian business, is being acquired by one of the largest car rental companies in the United States. National Car Rental Systems Inc. of Minneapolis will purchase the 1,000-car fleet for \$115 million. The combined companies will have 350 locations in North America and a fleet of 5,000 vehicles. Tilden was founded

in Montreal in 1925 by Sam Tilden, who started with three cars and built the business into one of the country's largest car rental agencies. Toronto-based Tilden, which has been run by Sam's 39-year-old granddaughter, Patricia Tilden, employs about 1,600 people.

Car rental owner: three generations of Canadians



Car rental owner: three generations of Canadians



Peter C. Blackley

Conrad Black's private agenda

Conrad Black's seizure of the Southern publisher chain was typical of the man and his methods. He scooped up control of Canada's largest newspaper chain after a behind-closed-doors stock deal, pledged that he would preserve the company's autonomy, then promptly served notice that he would fire out of the eight independent directors, replace them with his own choices.

It was a fairly routine corporate takeover, but because Conrad Black was involved, it quickly became headline news. Among the tiny echelon of genuinely creative Canadian business leaders you can count them on two hands and one foot, Black stands out not only as a supremely successful operator, but as one of those rare earthlings blessed with an admirable sense of how to dramatize every outcome, gesture and pronouncement.

As far back as his student days in Ottawa, young Conrad became determined to turn himself into a Canadian version of William Randolph Hearst or Henry Luce, the American media magnates who lived on a grand scale and used their publications to support their personal political causes. Black looks and acts the part, with his hyperbole, pomelo-grey eyes (he has been mostly inside gun barrels) and the body language of a prima in her fiercest act. Black's media has made him great copy (he intimidates just about everyone he meets—even when he's not present). Some years ago, a Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce director seriously complained to me that during an executive committee meeting at the hotel, which fellow director Black did not attend because it dealt with a loan to Argus, his holding company, "the room reverberated with Conrad's abuse."

The recent move of Black takeovers, which have turned his Hollinger Inc. into the dominant English-language newspaper publisher in six provinces, has prompted hysterical calls for action in parliament and his advisers in Canada, especially the media, beware possibility that he might use his clout to ensure to dictate what his 58 Canadian daily newspapers will print. Such a study would be a waste of money. There isn't the slightest doubt that he intends to use his newspapers to influence public opinion to back his cause wherever he likes.

The due to his publishing philosophy is contained in a 1973 letter he wrote to William F. Buckley Jr., then editor of *The National Review*, because one of the first part of the American right who adherents were apologetic enough not to require disclaimer sheets. Black was considering the purchase of Saturday Night magazine, and wanted advice: "I take the liberty of writing to you on behalf of many members of the journalistic, academic and business community who wish to comment as courteous anonymous, into a conversation for news at some variance with the third paragraph of ideological journey to vague here, as in the U.S. It is in that context that we

would like some advice from you, as we will at least partially emulate your example at the *National Review*" (Blackley currently sits on Hollinger Inc.'s advisory board.)

I never did find out what Buckley replied, but Black did eventually buy the magazine in 1987, then edited with creative grace by Robert Falkner, who found it philosophically unacceptable to work under its new owner. It wasn't until 1994, when Black appointed current editor Kenneth Whyte, that Saturday Night reflected its owner's politics. (Between Falkner and Whyte, Saturday Night was edited by John Fraser, one of Black's Upper Canada College school chums, who was the exception that proved the rule and ran the magazine with cheek and verve, but no right-wing bias.) Since Whyte took over, the magazine has concentrated on the on-the-run ravages of Michael Corbin, David Prutz and Andrew Coyne—the latter duo being featured in a debate on the rights of homosexual couples, which one Toronto literary wit described as covering "The full spectrum of opinion from A to B."

That is the extent to which Black intervenes with editorial departments: he appoints editors whose ideology he trusts, then allows them their freedom. That may not be desirable, but neither is it unique. Most of Canada's great publishers—Joe Atkinson, J.W. McConnell, Mac Bell, Victor Sifton and John Bassett—enjoyed their newspapers as extensions of the selves. As an editor, I know how the process works. In 1968, before I became editor-in-chief of *The Toronto Star*, Deland Henderson, then its publisher, quizzed me about any attitudes on his paper's editorial ideology, which was highly nationalistic and slightly to the left of centre on social issues. Nobody pretended we were neutral. One year later, when I co-founded the Committee for an Independent Action, which became the chief lobby group for government action opposing increased foreign ownership of our media and resources, I wrote the CBC's manifesto of any editor's desk, and cheerfully used the paper to promote our cause.

Black is perpetuating the old-fashioned canon of proprietorship at a time when both the public and private sectors are being bureaucratized. "I don't intend to be some smallbacking, amateur proprietor," he once told me. "But I do believe that proprietorships are better run because the motivation is greater. Every case would come eventually from your pocket."

That is an overselling syndrome, where Black to control the content of his papers in another essential way: reducing their budgets means they can't afford any investigative initiatives. When a PBO, jet crashed in Guelph, Ont., back in 1978, the Black-owned local paper, the *Daily Timesnow*, had been trimmed to four editorial employees, so that the paper had to cover the tragedy mostly through dispatches from the Toronto-based Canadian Press news agency.

That, too, is the proprietor's prerogative.

People

Edited by
SHARON DOYLE DUKERGER

Barnstorming opera

Canadian tenor Ben Heppner easily sways in the world's most elegant opera houses. But last week, the international opera star shook the culture in a dusty country here. Heppner was one of seven from two dozen of Canada's best writers and artists who performed at CBC Radio last week. Conrad Black's weekly series.



Guest-raising concert for the series, held at the Red Bank Theatre, near Sutton, Ont. The celebrity-studded audience of more than 300 responded with boisterous enthusiasm to songs, readings and comedy by the likes of Rick Mercer of CBC's *The New Line* (see p. 38), *Music*, author David Carver, and *Read to Inspire* star Sarah Polley. Heppner's powerful voice drew two standing ovations and a shower of bouquets. At the conclusion, the grand star had his audience—clearly as moved as he was—in O Canada. "Nothing can make me more proud than to sing the anthem," he said.

The British Columbia Heppner "I'm so patriotic about Canada—fin almost American."



Silken's sweet Golden Will

With the Summer Olympics in Atlanta opening as a coach, Canada's greatest swimmer in the spotlight. At a recent pro-am regatta in Lucerne, Switzerland, the sculler found their Olympic credentials by winning three gold medals, two silver and a bronze. Marisa Malina of Toronto and Kathleen Boudie of Vancouver de-



Malina and Malina, Laumann (left) and Boudie

scribed a Dutch pair for the double-sculls title Wendy White of St. Catharines, Ont., and Colleen Miller of Malton, Man., defeated the United States in lightweight double sculls, and Derek Peter of Victoria outdistanced Thomas Lang of Germany in the single-sculls final. As well, the Canadian women's team took a gold in the four-woman, while the lightweight men's team took silver. Those performances sparked hopes that the 1996 Canadian team can match—or even exceed—its five-medal haul from the 1992 Games in Barcelona. "We just have to keep the momentum going for another few weeks," says Al Macrae, a coach on the team. "But we are feeling pretty good about how things are progressing." The only Canadian rower out in Lucerne was single sculler Silken Laumann. Having won the gold medal at the Wladimir Kuznetsov Regatta, Germany, in real May, Laumann opted to skip the Swiss event to spend time visiting family in Mississauga, Ont., and help meet obligations to sponsors before rejoining training in San Diego. But Laumann did not entirely escape attention last week. At a regatta preview, producers unveiled *Golden Will—The Silken Laumann Story*, a documentary, two-hour special due to air on CTV on June 30 that, among other things, recounts how Laumann recovered from a horrific accident in June to compete at the 1992 Olympics.



Farmer's Daughter: power, grace and athleticism

Singers missing in action

It was an moment of glory for country trio *Farmer's Daughter*—and they missed it. Last week, the three-woman band swept the British Columbia Country Music Awards, winning all six of their nominated categories, including group of the year and entertainer of the year. But the winners—Angie McLean, Julie Leslue and Shanaiah Sano—could not attend the award ceremony in New West-

minster because of a long-standing performing engagement in Edmonton. "It's a shame of prizes, books and awards," said Leslue. "It seems we're always heading out of town these days." Since their

put a lot of energy and commitment into our show," Leslue notes. "That's why, in why they are especially excited to win as entertainers of the year." "After all," she adds, "it's our fans who put us here."

Is TV violence contributing to aggression in kids?

ROCK TV

BY JOE CHIDLEY

Nick Workman's favorite program is *The X-Files*, a cartoon featuring mutant superheros with names like Gashel, Skuge and Wolberts—the latter a roush-dogus dual-beast whose razor-sharp claws have a hair trigger. “I like the action,” says Nick, 11, like it when they use their powers. “He also likes *The Simpsons*—especially Homer. I refer to his animated show’s dysfunctional family, ‘because he sleeps says, ‘Dad!’” Now, at age 7, Nick feels he’s ready to move on to more mature fare: *The X-Files*, the graphic sci-fi show that explores paranormal activity. Trouble is, Mom won’t let him watch it. “She thinks I’ll get nightmares,” Nick says. In fact, Mom—aka Deborah Irvine, a 46-year-old speechwriter who works from her home in Maple Bay, B.C., on a boat’s drive north of Victoria—is worried about more than nightmares. Nick, she says, is well below his grade level in reading, and she suspects that his love affair with TV may be responsible. Of three sons, Nick is the only one “that we have to be very firm with and turn off the television,” Irvine says. “It creates huge arguments. I’ll grab onto my foot when I’m leaving the room and beg for the TV to stay on.”

The scene has been part of North American family life since the television explosion of the 1950s—the child crying in bed or on the sofa, the parents getting angry, defensive or despondent. But in the 1990s, the terror of the TV debate has taken on a dark new tone increasingly, Canadian parents and educators are worried about the effects of the tube on kids. Much of their concern—fueled by a recent spate of gruesome, lethal crimes committed by more children—revolves around TV violence. And on that issue, the September release of the so-called V-chip, a device that allows parents to screen out violent programming, promises to provide a new weapon in parents’ battle for the minds of their children (page 48). If parents actually use it, the V-chip will permit unprecedented control of the home’s most-used appliance.

But the problems of television go far beyond the powers of any quick tech-fix. They involve not only what kids are watching but the fact that they are watching at all. Even in the 100-channel universe, where TV will offer something for everybody, parents will have to confront a question that transcends

violence: what is television really doing to kids? Is it doing them harm? To put it bluntly, in TV land:

In its nearly 60-year history, television has been blamed for a host of societal ills, and not always fairly. “If the television cause coincides with the present levels of programs,” Boston University president David Marsh declared in *Mediascape* in 1981, “we are destined to have a panacea of miseries.” Arguably, that has not happened—yet. There is a lot of fine programming on North American television. But the issue of TV’s effects is not only about what is on, but also about the interaction of the medium and its viewers—how they watch it, and what they take away from it. By the time most Canadian children reach high school, they each will spend between 10,000 and 15,000 hours watching TV—more time than is spent going to school, playing sports or talking to parents. No wonder that communication guru Marshall McLuhan called television “the first curriculum” for modern youth.

But what do they learn? Violence is one part of the picture, but increasingly sociologists and media

‘Boy found guilty in beating death of Montreal priest’

‘Toronto boy, 11, accused of rape’

‘Six-year-old charged with battering baby’



critics are concerned about other, more subtle effects. Through the cathode tube, children learn about social stereotypes, about the “appropriate” roles for men and women in society. And they are told over and over again what they should buy. American communications guru Neil Postman estimates that the average kid has seen about half a million TV commercials by age 18. Perhaps most important, television is the primary source of information for children—in it is for adults—providing not only a refuge from, but a window on, the real world. And it is a very narrow view, indeed.

On a chilly night in April, 1995, a 13-year-old boy helped beat retired Montreal priest Frank Teepe, 75, and wife Jocelyne, 79, to death with a baseball bat and a beer bottle, smothering the body in three years in detention and two years’ probation last March. Judge Lucie Randena remarked that he showed no signs of remorse. Last April, a six-year-old boy crept into a house in Richmond, Calif., and beat one-month-old Jeremy Bernadette Jr. almost to the point of death, prosecutors say. Hevel Jewett later said that the boy had told friends he assaulted the baby because members of the Bernadette family had “boasted to him wrong.” In Toronto last month, a 13-year-old accused an 11-year-old boy of raping him.

There is an ongoing and contentious debate over whether youth crime is really on the rise. But what ever the reality, the perception persists. And, parents and educators ask, is it possible to hold the search for answers, many point to TV as, if not the culprit, then at least an accomplice. “Television violence is eroding, scrambling up, the value systems of children—oh, absolutely,” declares Bruce Austin Dwyer, chairwoman of Canadian Concerned About Violence in Edmonton (C-C-AV).

Violence has long been an element of the TV landscape—and of kids’ programs, from *The Three Stooges* to the *Baywatch* cartoons that baby boomers were raised on. And of all the effects of television, the link between depicted violence and heightened aggression is the most thoroughly researched. Some dispute the statistics—there is real contention about what defines a violent act—but the numbers are still alarming: by the age of 12, according to one study, a typical Canadian will have witnessed as many as 12,000 violent deaths on television.

Many psychologists say the TV violence can lead to heightened aggression in the short term. Other research suggests that children who watch a lot of violence can become desensitized to real-world violence, and less empathetic to the pain and suffering of others. And then there is the so-called mean-world syndrome, in which children exposed to television violence develop a view of the world as more dangerous or sinister than it actually is. Ironically, the same effect has been reported in adults, particularly among the elderly.

Doug Hultstead, a Grade 2 teacher at Stevenson-Brimacombe School in Winnipeg, sees those effects every day in the schoolyard. “I haven’t seen Red Rover or tag on the playground for years,” says Hultstead. “The standard now is ‘play-fighting’ with kids using knives. But there is a real lowering of energy—they stand still as if, I was just joking when I kicked him.” More disturbing for Hultstead is what happens in the classroom. “If we’re talking about the Second World War and we mention something violent, there are always a few boys who will go, ‘Yeah, right, no,’” he says. “There are kids in my

class who take delight in scolding a previous generation of students would have responded to with shock."

But the Television connection is complicated. Wendy Josephson, a psychologist at the University of Winnipeg who compiled a survey of TV violence research for Canadian Heritage, says that male children are more likely to be affected by TV violence than girls, and that children who have been abused are more sensitive to televised aggression—and tend to watch more of it. Still, a few experts doubt that televised violence has any real-world effect. Jonathan Freedman, a psychology professor at the University of Toronto, claims that while heightening aggression through exposure to violent imagery is possible in a laboratory setting, the violence studies do not reflect the way kids actually view TV—in their own living rooms, with outside distractions.

And the links between television and individual acts of violence are problematic, at best. In October, 1995, a five-year-old boy set fire to his family's mobile home in Monrovia, Ohio, killing his two-year-old sister, Jessica Matthews. The girl's mother saw the boy lit the fire after watching *Beast and Herbed*, a notorious cartoon about two afro-dreaded adolescents with a taste for pyrotechnics. The case was widely reported in the United States, and in response MTV, the music-video cable channel, moved the cartoon to a late-night time slot. What got less media attention, however, was the fact that the mobile home in which Jessica Matthews died did not even have cable.

It will not be a pretension of genre alone, violence, audience-perfection alone, *Beast and Herbed* contends about totally predictable violence, blood and slaughter, mayhem, murder, murder, murder, murder had men, women good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence and cartoons. And, outside, commercials—many screaming, raving and offending. And most of all, boredom.

—U.S. Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton Minow, May, 1961

Thirty-five years after a stinging indictment of television that came to be known as the "meatball speech," Newton Minow—now chairman of the Carnegie Foundation, a philanthropic organization that helped fund, among other projects, *Beast and Herbed*—says the landscape has changed. "I think in many ways, sadly, it has deteriorated," he told *Madden's*. "We have a much wider choice, with the advent of cable and public television. But I think that the level of stuff that flows at kids, especially, has gone down."

Why? Minow and others at U.S. critics point to the increasing competition for children's television during the 1980s when the FCC deregulated the field—and when broadcasters threw out their vulgar code on advertising to children. Canadian broadcasters, in contrast, adopted a strict code on children's advertising—banned, for instance, the use of sex and violence in commercials. But thanks to the vagaries of the TV market, four-fifths of programs watched by English-speaking Canadian kids are American-made.

There are exceptions to the rule—the success of the youth-oriented TV in Canada has led to a proliferation of local channels, but for a variety of reasons, broadcasters can't demand the advertising dollars for children's shows. From a research standpoint, kids are notoriously hard to keep track of, and advertisers cannot tell whether they are watching a show or just sitting in the room. The result is that ad spots for kids programs are often sold through the *Ad to Disney & Friends*, that does not have related merchandise. The off-line winner is *Power Rangers*, whose figurines and accessories are now a billion-dollar business.

When they do get made, Canadian children's TV production—



Reveries (right) attacks a villain in *The X-Men*: "Shaver, mayhem"

like *Prod Power's Place* (CBC) and *The Big Cough Cough* (YTV)—raise few concerns about violence or suitability for kids. "Children's television produced here is absolutely stellar," says Randy Wilkerson, national director of the Alliance for Children and Television. The problem, Wilkerson says, is that there is simply not enough quality Canadian programming for children on the air.

The realities of children's TV in Canada are highlighted by the case of the Mighty Morple *Power Rangers*. The U.S.-produced show, which is reported around the world, follows the exploits of a group of spandex-clad teens who transform into karmic-kicking superheroes to battle evil forces bent on world space. In 1994, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council ruled that the show, which ran on Canada on YTV and Cufflink Global, violated the broadcasters' code on violence. YTV pulled *Power Rangers* and, after raising an edited version locally, Global followed suit in July, 1995. But the show is still broadcast in Canada—thanks to Fox Network stations in the United States. On top of that, *Power Rangers* has given birth to such knockoffs as *V8 Troopers* and *Mutant Rider*, both of which air on Canadian TV.

Some critics point to a link between violent entertainment for children and commercial imperatives. "There are so many other cultural commodities that go along with television programs," says C-CAVE's Dixon, "that the half-hour shows become commercials in themselves." There is precisely no American-made children's program—besides *The X-Men* to *Disney & Friends*—that does not have related merchandise. The off-line winner is *Power Rangers*, whose figurines and accessories are now a billion-dollar business.

ENTERING THE KIDS' ZONE

Surrounded by toys, YTV interns and a well-dressed line handler, Jimmy the Hammer, Dave Taylor's office looks like a kid's playroom. But the presence of intercom sounds and a computer perched on the paper-covered desk are reminders that 43-year-old Taylor, vice-president of programming and production at the Toronto-based YTV network, is a business—with a little playfulness thrown in. "TV is a marvelous place for me to work as it's a lot of fun," says Taylor. That combination of youthful sensibility and savvy programming has made YTV the most-watched specialty channel in Canada, with more than 10 million viewers a week.

The YTV story is a tale of children's television programming on fourth in the Canadian market. "YTV has been the only one to come to contribute to the development of new Canadian children's product," claims Alan Mizel, executive director of the Ottawa-based Verder Institute of the Family. The convergence of YTV is the credo. "You rule"—a reminder to the staff that the network ran the show. And since those viewers watch widely in age, YTV has come up with creative approaches to the challenges of providing suitable programming. The basic formula, breaking the schedule into blocks: The *Breakfast Zone* appears from 7 to 9:30 a.m. and appeals to so-called "twins"—nine to 14-year-olds—with *Cartoons*. "What does cool really mean?"

When Lidusa Zaleski was a kid—she is 35 now—the *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* were all the rage. *Power Rangers* is now, because the Ninja Turtles were all grown, but the *Rangers* have grown up. Zaleski, a high-school student in Pickering, Ont., "they show tries to trigger certain groups—they show things and they know that the little kids are going to bother parents to buy it for them." TV, he says, "updates little kids. But it shows teenagers, too." Zaleski adds, "because if you're watching *MacGyver*, they have all those stereo systems on—all this cool stuff teenagers want."

And the *Jeopardy* news shows, the *entertainment*, *Seaside Street* and *Bonny* or other channels. *MacGyver* often something different, an interview with the lead singer from the rock group *Mercury*. *MacGyver* is an *androgynous figure* dressed all in black, to quote their "there's no real difference between artists and artists," and *MacGyver* has the show's latest album, *Seaside Street*, in *MacGyver* album. "What is remarkable is not the interview—run-of-the-mill entertainment rock stuff—but the interview. *Seaside Street* morning."

Every generation of adults has viewed youth culture and its medium of choice—radio drama in the 1940s, horror comic books in the 1950s, rock music in the 1960s—with suspicion. And although parents often say their concerns are violence, they're worried about television go much deeper. "Simply to go on what is relatively simplistic cause and effect about violence is to miss the bigger point," says Alan Mizel, executive director of the Verder Institute of the Family in Ottawa. "Violence has been a way of articulating a disease with its medium. But we've never gone beyond it."

Too often, television offers little more than stereotypes, especially of women, like the caricatures of *Baywatch*. In a recent study, B. Graham McKinley, a lecturer at Rider University in Lawrenceville, N.J., looked at the ways 40 girls, from sixth grade to college age, talked about the first high-school soap *Beverly Hills 90210*. The show revolves around six beautiful teens living in a beautiful neighborhood. The show does occasionally look at socially relevant

X-Men and *Bump in the Night*. The *Teen Zone*, commercial-free programming for preadolescents—featuring *The Big Cough Cough* and *Grounding Mom*—runs from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. Next comes *The Zone*, which is on after school and includes comedy and cartoons, such as *Beast and Herbed*, paired again several times. That is followed at 4 p.m. by *Whodunnit*, *Family Fun*, *The Report* and *Redbox*. The *Zone* program has broad appeal. While 31 per cent of viewers are aged 2 to 17—YTV's core audience—the majority are actually 18 and over.

Since its launch in 1989, YTV has earned strict CRTC regulations governing commercial airtime—a maximum of four minutes per half-hour—to its advantage. Because most of their shows are designed for six minutes of commercial per half-hour, YTV created the *Program Jockey*, or PJ, to seek out the difference. *Grounded* and *Style*, the PJ—all in their teens or 20s—have earned them more viewers than any other show. "The PJ are a competitive for the viewer at home, and they help put the show into context," says Patricia McDonald, president and chief executive officer of YTV. The long-running PJ, at five years, is Phil Gagliardi, 35, "I have a big responsibility with these children," says Gagliardi. "My show is tuned in the *Zone*—the show, but I say to the kids, 'What does cool really mean?' I talk to them about being themselves, being truthful to themselves." For the big kids who run YTV being themselves means success.

YVONNE DAVIES

READY TO EDUCATE AND ENTERTAIN YOUNG TEENS

smoke—drug abuse, AIDS, physical disability. But McKinley found that no matter what the sensitive issue, the women in the study talked about a limited range of topics. "Hairstyles, nailcare, eyebrows, clothing and boyfriends," says McKinley. "The show established a community of viewers, who shared expertise on how women look." From a feminist perspective, she adds, the results are disturbing. "Do we send our young women to take a deeper, shading pleasure in the idea that you are what you wear?"

Adolescents, in particular, are highly sensitive—a casual look at the baggy jeans and backward caps worn in malls across the country is evidence enough of that. "Adolescents are the most prone to visual images," says Marshall Korenblum, a psychiatrist at the Hines Center for Children's Mental Health in Toronto. And teens learn to pattern their behavior after screenplays they see on television, often with disturbing results. A 1986 University of California study found that teen suicides tend to rise after TV news stories about suicide.

The trend in many commercials, meanwhile, is to stereotype stereotypical relations: parents are duds, kids are cool. One ad for Apple Jacks, for instance, has a father wandering to his preteen daughter and her friends why they like the cereal when it doesn't even taste like apples. The response: "Dad—let"—as if the just-mentioned mother said to all things bag by asking so blatant question.

It is worth pointing out that adult perceptions of youth are also shaped by what they see on TV. Some shows, like *CanWest Global's Ready or Not, CBC's Straight Up* and *WTIC Communications' Adolescents*, resist to transcend stereotypes of youth culture—and they do it well. But television, Korenblum agrees, still tends to portray adolescents either as victims or as "father-jacketed second thug"—described as "unwieldy/inept" mentality among adults, and missing public leaders about violence, even while many researchers say youth violence is actually declining. One example: a promo for an *NYC Nightly News* special report last week made a clear pitch to adult fans with the lines, "Younger and younger criminals are terrorizing our cities. How can we stop them? How should they pay?"

In at least one respect, Elizabeth Rose of *Willie's* is on unusual 11-year-old: the actress only half on tour of television a day. She says she "sort of" likes TV. "But sometimes I don't like it," says Rose. "My mother is a preschool teacher. 'Lah, you know I got bored watching it.' She seems to make the most of her time at school she takes role lessons, sings in the choir, swims and plays basketball. At school, she takes just and top eleven lessons. And then, Elizabeth says, "I watch the day."

Everyone who watches television knows the feeling—lying on the couch, weary-eyed and bored, flipping vacantly through channels that offer nothing particularly worth watching. It is the most familiar TV effect, and yet it may also be the most pernicious. According to Statistics Canada, the average Canadian spends 22.7 hours in front of the tube every week. Teens and children 2 to 11 actually spend less time watching television than the national average. And viewing hours for those ages have decreased—from 20.9 and 22 hours, for teens and children respectively, in 1985 to 17.1 and 17.7 hours in 1994, the last year for which statistics are available. Part of the reason for that decline, however, is that the numbers do not take into account time



Elizabeth Rose and Geraldine

writing. Degree Junior High ended its five-year run in 1992, and CBC has now added the hip dramatic series, *Straight Up*.

As times it seemed that *Ready or Not* might never be deemed ready in 1988 Rosenberg wrote a pilot for the show based on her own harrowing experience of entering a live-in school for the first time. But she was unable to interest anyone in 32AA until 1991, when Global agreed to make one show. And while the network agreed to broadcast at least 12 more episodes, still finding to make the series—including a crucial broadcast commitment from the U.S. cable network Showtime—did not come until a year later. Now entering its third season, *Ready or Not* is seen in 24 countries and won a Gemini earlier this year for best youth series.

Rosenberg concedes that the show stars clear of the gritty, slice-of-life quality that characterized *My So-Called Life*. But she still believes that television for teens has a special responsibility to educate, as well as entertain. Shows like *Beauty Hill* 90210, she says, set up impossible, potentially damaging ideals of beauty and wealth. And while adults recognize that the teenage portrayed in *Beauty Hill* is a diverting fantasy, their children may be less discerning. Rosenberg says, "Television has a huge effect on teens, especially on girls, who can be made to feel completely inadequate," she notes. "We are trying to offer alternatives ways to navigate the rocky road of adolescence, without being cutesy."

PATRICIA CHIRIOLO

IT ALSO COMES IN BLACK

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great playing video games

What worries many parents is the fact that kids watching television could be doing something else—like eating, playing with friends, reading, anything. On the other hand, parents who contemplate turning off their TV's altogether risk cutting off their kids from the cultural reference points of their generation: every kid at school knows the Power Rangers by name. And TV does have an undeniable role as a refuge. "For many households," says Mitchell, "there is so much stress that it's really come down to a question of television or violence." In an era of broken families, many kids find a sense of belonging in the virtual families depicted on television. Some even claim to find enlightenment in a 1994 American survey of kids aged 11 to 16, more than a quarter said daytime tele-

COVER

vision, one mile, "Was do you love? Was do you spend time with?"—over an illustration of a set of scales balancing a TV set with a black space for a picture of their child.

Some parents, meanwhile, are turning to a more traditional method: bribery. Sonnet Lowrance, a preschool child servant from Edmonton, and her husband, David Hoffman, a business development consultant, began to worry about their two kids' TV viewing about a year ago.

"More and more, we found that whenever they had time to spend, they turned on the television," says Lowrance. So they made an effort about a year ago. "More and more, we found that whenever they had time to spend, they turned on the television," says Lowrance. So they made an effort about a year ago.

The issue goes far beyond TV violence

In Michael, 16, and Leigh, 10, if the kids could watch a maximum of three hours a week for a year, beginning on April 1, 1995, then the parents would pay them \$200 each. Lowrance says that Leigh stopped watching TV altogether and collected her \$200 last



Halstead with his students: waging 'emotional nuclear warfare' against television

shows—the likes of Jerry Springer, Geraldo and Oprah—do this job covering people their age. The last is, says Mitchell, "something who spends that much time watching TV will begin to develop a perception of the world which is not real."

According to Wilkinson, 80 per cent of parents say they monitor what their children watch on television. But in the age of latchkey children and two working parents, taking control of how long children watch is not always easy. The V-chip will help. And many parents and educators are already coming up with creative ways to address the problem. In Whangap, Grade 2 teacher Halstead is waging what he calls "emotional nuclear warfare" against television. At the beginning of every school year, he invites parents to two evening sessions to discuss how they can help their children perform well in school. His main message: turn off the television and start reading to your child. He also offers parents placards to put on their fridge or on top of their TV

March. But Michael "left off the wagon," his mother adds, although he did cut back on his TV viewing—and earned himself a commission prize of \$100. Now, the kids are back watching television, but not as often, and not in the same way. Says Lowrance, "Now when they watch TV—and I don't know if this is a big step forward—they are conscious of what they are doing."

Delores Brown finally gave up on television, that is. "We're going to cancel cable for the summer," she decided. "And where we live, if you don't have cable, you virtually don't have anything." How did she break the news to her son, Nick—owner of The X-Men and The Simpsons? "I told him the TV's going to summer vacation, not like he is," Brown recalls. "What I have to do is warn Nick off television from being his best friend."

RAY SAWYER CHIL
SHARON DOYLE SHERRER and
GAIL MARRALLESARA in Toronto

Trudeau
lit the fire.
Mulroney
wouldn't
put it out.

**MONEY
TO
BURN**

Trudeau, Mulroney
and the Bankrupt
of Canada
**D'ARCY
JENISH**

and more... A new
series of

Studio



The Hill family at home. It gives you some level of control!

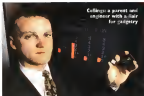
THE RATING GAME

Tom Collings is one of those techies who uses the word "geek" as often as some Canadians use "eh." A self-proclaimed engineering instructor at Simon Fraser University in January, B.C., the 34-year-old Collings clearly gets excited by technology. But he is also a parent, troubled by what one piece of technology—television—was doing to his kids. About five years ago, as public concern mounted, Collings began to read up on the effects of TV violence. "I came to the conclusion that it does influence behavior," he says, "and I thought the fact that most people have that perception, too, was reason enough to do something about it." Relying on two hands—engineering and parenthood—Collings invented the V-chip, a device that just might transform the TV landscape.

By allowing parents to block out programs based on predetermined ratings for violence, sex and substance use, the V-chip (V is for violence) promises to give unprecedented control over what children see on television. And its launch—scheduled for September in Canada through cable companies, which will offer it for about \$2 a month—has been preceded by some pretty lofty pronouncements: "It will revolutionize the way people watch television," says Alison Clayton, a communications consultant who has spearheaded V-chip development for Rogers Communications Inc. U.S. President Bill Clinton went more bullish in February, when he signed into law a telecommunications bill requiring all new TV sets to be equipped with the device. The V-chip, Clinton declared, "can become a powerful tool against teen violence, drug, pregnancy, teen drug use, and for both learning and entertainment."

There are brace clauses, especially for a relatively simple gadget. Collings's system is based on encoding programs with an electronic "signal." Like closed-captioning, the signal is inserted on the so-

The V-chip—made in Canada—stirs controversy



Collings, a parent and engineer with a flair for gadgetry.

Wally Hill, a 39-year-old Ottawa computer industry consultant whose family participated in the latest V-chip trial, likes about Collings's invention. "It gives you some level of control," Hill says, "over what other people are putting into your living room." But there were a few glitches. When the V-chip was installed in their TV set in mid-February, Wally and his wife, Heather, set the device to PG—the right level to keep their children, Michael, 10, Alex, under 8, and their 11-year-old daughter, from watching inappropriate programs. Trouble was, their favorite show, *The Simpsons*, had been rated A—suitable for ages 16 and up. The V-chip blocked the show "immediately," Hill says. "We had our 10-year-old girl, 'Whoo! Come on!'" Bypassing the chip solved that problem, and it worked fine after that. Except for one thing: "Miles is on *34th Street*," Hill recalls. "We rated R."

JACQ CHERRY

called vertical blocking interval—the black space between each frame of video—and it carries ratings information. In the home, the V-chip decodes the signal sent, with a remote control and on-screen display, allows parents to customize their viewing. In the latest field trial, which ended in mid-May, two levels of ratings were used. First, programs were rated from E (for "except" news items and sports shows) and G (for general audiences) to R (for restricted only). But shows were also given a numerical rating for violence, sex and language—a 0 for the least bad, a 5 for graphic violence, foul language or explicit sexuality.

For Keith Spicer, who will leave his post as chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission at the end of June, the V-chip represents the culmination of a four-year campaign against television violence. Spicer is careful not to claim too much for the V-chip—he is fond of saying that it is only 10 per cent of the solution. But he adds "I do admit that we will have better television. As a result of the V-chip, certain types of programs will not be made any more—the stupidly violent stuff that's a substitute for creativity."

Still, not everyone is happy. Peter Grant, a consultant with the Directors Guild of Canada, says that TV producers have "irritate concerns" about the chip's application. A high V-chip rating, Grant says, could put pressure on advertisers not to support controversial TV shows. Additive to the concern is the situation in the United States, where Clinton has directed a V-chip industry. There is an guarantee that the U.S. system and the Canadian one—currently being dismantled by an anti-welfare alliance of broadcasters and cable companies—will be the same. And Collings, for one, worries that U.S. broadcasters will settle on a simple "adult/not adult" classification system. "That would mean just trying to determine the appropriate age group," Collings says, "rather than going content selection and letting parents decide."

That power of decision is what worries some industry consultants whose family participated in the latest V-chip trial, likes about Collings's invention. "It gives you some level of control," Hill says, "over what other people are putting into your living room." But there were a few glitches. When the V-chip was installed in their TV set in mid-February, Wally and his wife, Heather, set the device to PG—the right level to keep their children, Michael, 10, Alex, under 8, and their 11-year-old daughter, from watching inappropriate programs. Trouble was, their favorite show, *The Simpsons*, had been rated A—suitable for ages 16 and up. The V-chip blocked the show "immediately," Hill says. "We had our 10-year-old girl, 'Whoo! Come on!'" Bypassing the chip solved that problem, and it worked fine after that. Except for one thing: "Miles is on *34th Street*," Hill recalls. "We rated R."

Sports



Aston at the 1995 Canadian Grand Prix, resulting in the crash of season.

The native son returns

Jacques Villeneuve revs up Montreal race fans

Called in a blue-and-white racing uniform, one arm curled tightly around his helmet, a cardboard Jacques Villeneuve goes solemnly out the window of a Montreal convention center. The life-size cutout, part of an advertising campaign for the upcoming Canadian Grand Prix, shows a winner yet seen as young stars in small, round eyes, bringing only a trace of a smile. The estate Villeneuve is strictly two-dimensional, yet the presence of the rookie from St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Que., in the June 16 race has revved up headlines excitement in the city. And by the time the real Villeneuve reaches Montreal next week, he will be at the centre of almost frenzied anticipation. Some 200,000 people are expected to attend the two practice days and the race itself. A more than 20 per cent increase over last year. Tickets are nearly sold out, hotels are fully booked and more than 300 reporters and photographers are waiting to capture Villeneuve's first Formula One race on home soil. The only one trying to play down the hype in the driver himself. "Obviously I would like to win in Montreal," he says, "but then, I would like to win every race."

For a city that has weathered a winter of bitter political debates along with the usual sub-zero temperatures, the race could not come at a better time. Villeneuve, a Quebec native who has steadfastly refused to take sides in the province's sovereignty battle, is beloved in his home province and beyond. As well, he will be racing on a track owned after his father, Gilles, a Formula One leg-

end who died during practice at the 1982 Belgian Grand Prix. As a result, young Villeneuve is helping to make the Grand Prix the biggest sporting event in Quebec this year. "Gilles Villeneuve has always been very popular here," says Canadian Grand Prix director Norrard Legend, "and people are praying that Jacques will do what his dad did in 1982 and win this race track."

Still, Villeneuve offers less than most his brightling. In eight years of professional racing, the 27-year-old has built a remarkable resume. In his second season as the IndyCar carter, he won the 1992 Indianapolis 500 as well as the PPG IndyCar World Series title. And last year, he was signed to a multiyear, multi-million-dollar contract by Williams. Renault, the top team in Formula One. While many IndyCar drivers have struggled to adapt to the higher, more uncomfortable cars of Formula One, Villeneuve has been a quick study. He finished second in his first-ever F1 race in Australia in March, recovered his first victory in Germany in April and

last week was tied with world-champion Michael Schumacher for second in the drivers' standings.

That track record helps explain why Villeneuve's Virginia Elliot, 44, and Victor Martiano, 45, are placed in their subordinate act whenever Villeneuve races. The couple often ride at 7 a.m. on weekend mornings to catch broadcasts of Formula One events—mainly to see their cousin-in-law in action. "He's a bit of a golden boy for Canadians," says Martiano, an electrical engineer. In fact, when the French-language daily *La Presse* asked readers this spring if they would prefer watching a race featuring Villeneuve or a Stanley Cup match boasting the disabled Montreal Canadiens, about 60 per cent of respondents voted for the race, reports sports editor Michel Blanchard. "Since Villeneuve entered Formula One, there has been a much greater interest in it," says Blanchard, who has assigned six journalists to cover the race. Despite spending most of his life in Europe, Villeneuve is still regarded as a local hero. He easily slips into a Quebecois accent and is dating a young Quebecer, Sandrine Givieux d'Alfonso, who attends Mayfield's Concordia University.

To accommodate the throngs of two-day spectators, the Grand Prix has doubled the number of seats available at the track to 60,000. And fans will have more to watch than just the cars. Both the race organizers and Williams Renault's sponsor, Renault, are staging concerts and promotional activities—including race stations on Montreal streets that show real-time action in Formula One cars and get the feel of the real thing via video. "We're taking



Villeneuve with his dad's cutout after a 'bout' race.

the Grand Prix to the streets. We're taking it to the streets."

The stakes are high. Last year, the Grand Prix pumped about \$50 million into the Montreal economy, according to figures provided by the Greater Montreal Convention and Tourism Bureau. And this year's expected record attendance should bring even greater economic dividends. A healthy part of the city's good fortune is due to what many are calling "the Jacques factor." Villeneuve has already won the hearts of Montrealers. Last year, he was named to the shortened flag on race day.

ELIZABETH WARMACK in Montreal

Backpack

ADVENTURE

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

There's a whisper on the night wind.
There's a stir against the gale as
And the Wild is calling, calling... let us go.
—Robert Service, *The Call of the Wild*

Kenneth Chambers is an intrepid Arctic traveler. The 71-year-old scientist, who retired in 1990 as chairman of the education department for New York City's American Museum of Natural History, first ventured north in 1967, spending three months studying and photographing wildlife in south-central Alaska. He has since returned to Alaska and the Northwest Territories dozens of times—in often for pleasure as for professional reasons. Since he retired, Chambers and his wife, Ann, 68, have made four trips to Antarctica, five others to Arctic Scandinavia, and have even ventured to the North Pole aboard a Russian icebreaker. In late April, the couple flew to Koyuk for a one-day guided dog sled trip along the southern shore of Beaufort Island, just west, south of this summer cruising Alaska's inside passage. Chambers concedes that among his



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GARY

ARCTIC THRILLS

friends and colleagues he is something of a minority. "A lot of them like to go to the beach in the summertime," he says, "whereafter they go back up to the Arctic." He is not alone. Whether it's hiking through the alpine valleys of Kluane National Park in the Yukon, paddling in the footings of the early explorers along the Coppermine River in the Central Arctic, or checking out the springtime action among the birds, seals and polar bears along the "bow ridge"—where the pack ice meets the open waters—off Beaufort Island, far-flung vacationers are descending on the Canadian North in search of the last, best wilderness. They are known as "adventure travelers," a term that conjures up the image of improbably fit young men and women leaping over fjords in a single bound. But an act, with a few strenuous exceptions—skidding the white-water rapids of the Nahanni River, say, or scuba diving under the sea ice in the High Arctic—most activities are geared to a more sedate pace, including sipping baby boomers and recent retirees with backs to burn and a yen for the exotic. Says Neil Harding, a Whitehorse-based outfitter and president of the Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon: "There are people who are saying, 'Boy, I've always wanted to do this and I'm not getting any younger, so if I'm going to do it, I better do it now.'"

Tourists go north to seek the last great wilderness

There are also, as likely as not, foreigners. A 1994 visitor profile survey in the Yukon found that a clear majority of adventure travelers came from the United States and Europe. Many outliers in the Northwest Territories, especially those offering wilderness tours, still dutifully report that domestic tourists are often the minority. "I sometimes think that Canadian live winter and the last thing they need to do is to extend it," says Paul Landry, a Beaufort Island outfitter who leads dog-sledding and dog-edge expeditions. Peter Jess, who runs an elite

exclusive High Arctic tourist lodge and who has worked in Northern Canada for over two decades, offers a more provocative theory. Forcibly, he says, are simply better informed than Canadians about the treasures to be found north of 60. "Most Canadians," says Jess, "have no idea what the top half of this country is about." Whenever they come from, the visitors are bringing money and jobs to a region that desperately needs more of both. Adventure tourism is the fastest-growing tourist sector in the North (also touring and fishing and hunting being the other two major ones) in the Yukon last year, an estimated 65,000 adventure travelers—more than double the population of the territory—spent about \$24 million into the local economy; in the Northwest Territories an estimated 38,000 visitors who participated in adventure activities

Arctic in the Yukon, a polar bear family (right) once-in-a-lifetime adventures

generated about \$25 million in revenues

Even at that, tourists go north because they believe that they have only begun to explore the last-remaining wilderness of the Canadian North that exists in many parts of the world. One emerging market is Japan. From a handful of visitors less than a decade ago, about 1,700 Japanese now travel to the Northwest Territories in the past year. Most of them arrived in Yellowknife between November and April, drawn by the chance to view the aurora borealis (aka the northern lights) in all its radiance glory. Coming from a crowded and increasingly polluted urban world, many Japanese exhibit a strong affinity for the pristine beauty and wildness of the Canadian Arctic. So much so that they are willing to plunk down as in \$4,000 each to fly in the Northwest Territories and spend three awe-inspiring nights on a platform near Yellowknife, gazing upward. "They get pretty excited when they see it," says Bill Tait, president of Beaufort Tours, the largest local aurora operator. "The women usually cry, their tears freezing on their faces."

NORTHERN ODYSSEYS

A sampling of adventure tours and the operators who supply them

- Shoot the whitewater rapids on the Nahanni River. Nahanni River Adventures. 1-800-257-6927
- Hike through the spectacular mountain scenery of the Taboriana and Alsek rivers. Timberland Expeditions Ltd. 1-800-779-1784
- Helicopter in for hiking excursions along the Yukon's highest peaks. Kluane Park Adventure Center. (403) 634-2213
- View the northern lights in their Arctic splendor. Raven Tours. (403) 673-4776
- Cruise the Mackenzie River in a restored luxury liner. NW Marine Group. (403) 873-2489
- Dog-sled along the sea ice and mountains at Frobisher Bay. NorthWoods Arctic Adventures. (833) 979-0550
- Hike on Barren Island. Arctic Dog Expeditions. (204) 325-1977
- Cruise the High Arctic in an expedition. Quark Expeditions. 1-800-356-5699
- Fly to the North Pole for a round of golf. Adventure Canada. 1-800-363-7556
- Visit the Northwest Passage in style. Arctic Watch. (403) 571-8000.



PHOTOGRAPH BY GARY

do anything about it." Finally, in August, 1994, the 83-year-old grandmother travelled to the Yukon to embark on a \$2,140 guided dog sled trip along the Taboriana and Alsek rivers, widely regarded as one of North America's greatest wildlife rivers. For 12 days, Daint and her crewman, dressed in Arctic gear, followed the ancient towering glaciers as bald eagles soared overhead and grizzlies roamed the valleys. "It was just so beautiful, so unbelievable," recalls Daint. She then utters a common refrain among those who succumb to the lure of the "I would love," she says, "to go up there again."

There are also a growing number of opportunities for the very high end tourist—those who want to travel to some of the most remote places on the planet, but in relative luxury. One of the most intriguing recent entries in this field is Peter Jess's Arctic Watch. Based on Somerset Island, in the heart of the historic Northwest Passage. The only major structure on the entire 25,000-square-kilometer island, the facility was erected in 1991, a feat that first required 125 Twin Otter flights to ferry in the materials. For a cool \$9,000 per week (not including airfare to Resolute, 2,500 km north of Whitecourt), guests stay in heated cabins built to withstand winds exceeding 145 km/h and winter-time temperatures dipping to -75°C. Open from early July to mid-August, when temperatures average a comparatively balmy 19°C, Arctic Watch overlooks Cunningham Inlet, where over 2,000 beluga whales can be seen during their summer migration. A Twin Otter plane on call at the lodge, which guests to other points along the Arctic archipelago, including the Beechy Island prairie of members of the ill-fated Franklin expedition who perished in 1848.

Jess, whose guests have included corporate executives and aristocrats of wilderness photography, is currently adding features to his High Arctic retreat. He plans to open a scuba diving camp off Beaufort Island next summer, followed in 1998 by a three-person submersible ride that will take people 350 feet below the sea ice to the site of the world's most northerly shipwreck, the *Beresford*, one of the vessels sent in search of the Franklin expedition. "We're dealing with very sophisticated travelers," says Jess, "people who have been to Africa, Australia, the Galapagos, and are looking for what's new."

Those of more modest means, however, can also realize their dreams of exploring the Arctic frontier. Jeremy Daint, a recently retired ferry pilot from Gorrie, Ont., 150 km west of Toronto, had long harbored a desire to journey northward. "But between raising and raising a family," says Daint, "I never had the time to do anything about it." Finally, in August, 1994, the 83-year-old grandmother travelled to the Yukon to embark on a \$2,140 guided dog sled trip along the Taboriana and Alsek rivers, widely regarded as one of North America's greatest wildlife rivers. For 12 days, Daint and her crewman, dressed in Arctic gear, followed the ancient towering glaciers as bald eagles soared overhead and grizzlies roamed the valleys. "It was just so beautiful, so unbelievable," recalls Daint. She then utters a common refrain among those who succumb to the lure of the "I would love," she says, "to go up there again."



Cybertown: a virtual stroll through interactive, three-dimensional sites on the Web

VIRTUAL SPACES

Just as home computer users are becoming comfortable with home pages, bulletin boards and all the other techbunkles associated with the World Wide Web, cybertowns are busily working on a new dimension that will, quite literally, change the user's view of the Internet. At present, the Internet is largely text-based, with some two-dimensional images thrown in for style—essentially as flat as a book page. Soon, however, cyberspace explorers will move from scrolling lines of text as a screen to strolling through interactive, three-dimensional "cyberworlds." These 3-D sites offer, for instance, an unmodified after real places such as the Champs-Élysées in Paris, a pharaoh's tomb in Egypt or a high-class bistro in New York City. The technical innovation that makes the development of these 3-D worlds possible is called Virtual Reality Modeling Language (VRML), pronounced "virmul." Already, hundreds of 3-D virtual reality worlds have been built on the Web over the past few months.

Cybertown, for example, is the start of a complete virtual reality/teletown city (<http://www.cybertown.com/>). Visitors can tour the downtown area, window shop, enter a club or set up an apartment. You can also go to a virtual museum or park. Heintzville Hotel (<http://www.hv.hv.com/>) is another 3-D site where visitors move through rooms in a seedy Raghouse looking for clues to the murder of the mayor of

New Verb (not New York City). But as novel as these 3-D sites may be for some people, they are just a hint of what is to come. "The problem with the VRML scenes now is that they are static and single user," says Murray Heggie, director of the Virtual Reality Lab at the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB). "You can move around by yourself, but you can't pick up an object or you can't communicate between you and the scene or between you and another person. It's a lonely, boring experience."

Not far long. The new crop of 3-D sites now starting to appear on the Web will allow for multimers, real-time conversations among people who are represented in the cyberworld by standard-cad avatars. For example, in a cybercafé that looks out over a redwood forest and mountain skyline (<http://www.hv.com/hv/real/forest/restaurant.htm>), participants select their avatars—bunnies, animals or alien—and navigate it through virtual conversations to meet and talk with other people on-line. Call it Internet rooms, which are text-based, participants speak in real time using a microphone on their home computer. The avatars closest to each other on the screen will be heard the loudest—as in real life.

In the near future, Web surfers will be

able to develop their own avatars using software programs, or key avatars from a supplier. The avatars will be able to change facial expressions with keyboard commands. They will go forward, backward, up or down. They will be able to hold and peruse objects. They will be designed to look like anyone or anyone, including the user. And avatars will be able to change clothes to suit where they are going in the cyberworld. Eventually, the plan is to let avatars "walk" around, following links to other parts of the Web.

At the moment, social interaction and entertainment are probably the most widely used VRML applications. Virtual reality games are very popular, particularly among the "newly instantiated"—14- to 21-year-old males—who like to "run around and shoot one another," says Bernie Reisch, a software developer at the University of Waterloo in Ontario. But, he adds, "how do we appeal to people who want to interact in more subtle ways?" A visit to a virtual shopping mall, for example, could be one way of reaching a different group of cybermovers. At the mall, visitors (in avatar persona, of course) could pick up and examine merchandise—all the time (checking avatar appearance and drawings of avatar mail order). They could ask for and receive directions to a particular shop. Or they could visit a travel agent to purchase multi-city tickets. Before buying, however, the user could check out potential hotels by walking around virtual versions. The same is true for buying tickets to, say, a baseball game or the opera. A user could sit in different seats to determine such things as the distance from the stage or field, or to determine if the view is blocked by a pillar.

(Of course, program developers are always trying to legitimize the Internet with "real" VRML applications.) In the world of education the University of Waterloo is planning to supplement its current course materials with 3-D models of such things as human cells. At UCCB, Heggie and his colleagues have developed a virtual mine shaft that will be used to teach miners emergency procedures in the case of a fire. But people still can have access to the 3-D environment on the Internet even if they are not in an educational institution or computer lab. A list of VRML-compatible browsers, many of them free, can be located at the VRML Forum (<http://www.vrml.com/>) or the VRML Repository (<http://www.vrml.com/vrml/>). For those with Netscape Navigator 3.0, a VRML browser is already installed. Online service providers have maps (details on how their customers can get ready for the new wave of cyberspace interaction).

SANDRA FARRAN



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THE FIRST BITE

Kids' eating disorders are a serious concern

Martina Lisi is three years old—and weighs just 29 lb. To her parents, that is a victory. Born with Down's syndrome and four heart defects, Martina underwent open-heart surgery at five months and remained hospitalized as an off-for-arms-it-half-a-year after that because of congestive heart failure. Lacking the energy to suck a bottle, she was fed through tubes placed in her throat and later through her nose and into her stomach. When the worst of her medical problems appeared to be behind her, she was released from hospital. But then another problem emerged. Martina refused to eat, firing doctors at 40 her with a feeding tube that went directly to her stomach. It was not until the age of 23 that Martina, an her own, swallowed her first bite, paired pants. "After two years of trying to get this child to eat I was starting to lose it," says her mother, Angela, 55, of Cambridge, Ont. "I would look at other kids and think it's so easy for them and so hard for mine. I felt like I was going to die."

Martina is part of a small but growing group of very young children who suffer from eating disorders that doctors to start the disorder. In Martina's case, the problem is known as post-traumatic feeding disorder, which usually affects children who have survived infancy because of intense medical intervention. The condition was first identified in the late 1970s and, according to Dr. Deane Boren, a child psychiatrist at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, it "affects almost no babies who were born extremely ill but who were by being looked up to machines and tubes. They learn that anything that gets to the back of their throat is frightening—they see food and they identify pain." Doctors are wary of treating the extent of post-traumatic eating disorder. What is known, though, is that about 25 per cent of children suffer from feeding problems. That represents a broad spectrum, from children who are unusually picky or selective about what they eat—not rejecting anything but



Feeding: *They are food—and they identify pain*

Children McNuggets, for example—to those who absolutely refuse to eat or drink. And in the latter category, post-traumatic feeding disorder is only one common affecting children. Dr. Anne Chabot, of the Children's National Medical Center in Washington is now studying infantile anorexia. Like anorexia in older children, she says, this disorder is also a result of a power struggle or an issue of control between particularly sensitive children and their often high-strung parents.

In that background, food becomes a weapon. "Parents will tell us they have tried everything—coaxed, distracted, bribed, told this food, that food, tastes, anything short of standing on their heads to get their children to eat," says Chabot, who adds that the problem often comes up during a child's so-called terrible twos. Although 80% has so far been published about the condition, she says that those at risk are usually very intense, biased, perceptive and curious—but also extremely intelligent. Cautious that with parents who are overly sen-

sitive, and give him a recipe for disaster. "The baby of a railroad parent will not develop in a healthy environment," Chabot says.

Treatment for serious children's eating disorders is a long and difficult process, and often begins with a doctor's observation of the "feeding relationship" between parent and child. And while not all kids respond, there are success stories. Martina Lisi is among them. She and her mother underwent a six-month program in Toronto, developed by Bennett, Bennett and her team first videotape feeding sessions to analyze the situation, and then help parents learn new tricks—among them, changing the flavor or texture of food to make it more palatable. "In the program, we were constantly reassured, and they showed us new ideas for things to try," says Angela Lisi. "Now Martina is as good as eating in my bed. I don't know how much longer I could have handled the stress—our size and state and we're over the moon."

TRACY NESIDLO

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Most children's feeding problems are not overly unusual—but parents should still be on the lookout for signs of trouble. Some hints:

- Avoid overreacting—if an otherwise healthy child refuses to eat but doesn't make a mountain out of a molehill.
- Remember that children have fluctuating appetites. "If you ride the roller coaster," says Dr. George Boren, chief of pediatrics at Toronto's Doctors' Hospital, "most children will take what they need."
- Seek help early for persistent problems that could develop into larger troubles.
- Keep an eye out for the following signs: a child is either losing or not gaining weight consistently; a child's refusal to eat causes parents to try force-feeding; a child will only eat if coaxed or bribed; signs of stress; parents consistently find that they are, in Boren's words, "losing the restaurant" for their child. "That's when the child says he wants macaroni and when you serve that, he says no. He wants a tuna sandwich and then he says no. He wants scrambled eggs," Boren says. All of the above are signs of problems that need to be addressed. "Parents need to go to the family doctor or pediatrician to the situation has to be evaluated," he adds.

CALENDAR

Dragon-boat races, jazz, blues, folk and classics, high-land games and the 'Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth'

BRITISH COLUMBIA

June 8-29 **Gastrobic**, Queen Elizabeth Theatre, Vancouver: The Vancouver Opera Company's production of the rollicking Leonard Bernstein opera has a new twist: its classic outdoor features soprano Lyndy Simons in the lead.

June 15-26, 21-23 **World Championship Dragon Boat Festival**, False Creek, Vancouver: Racers from seven countries, including China, New Zealand and the Philippines, will compete in the first world championship ever held outside Asia.

ALBERTA

June 29-July 1 **Kin Si-Pich**, Edmonton: Canada's largest outdoor festival, Kin Si-Pich (24th day model) hosts the nation's largest all-patch tournament—250 teams vying for \$50,000 in prizes.

July 5-14 **Calgary Exhibition and Stampede**, The Saddlery Race-Deaf Race: Hosts the main attraction at the "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth," which also features night chuckwagon races a day, stage shows and circuses.

SASKATCHEWAN

July 4-Aug. 18 **Shakespeare on the Saskatchewan**, Saskatoon: The award-winning festival stages *Twelfth Night* and *King Lear* in tents erected on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River.

MANITOBA

July 13-14 **Winnipeg Folk Festival**, Birds Hill Provincial Park: Held in a park 20 km from the city, the festival has 90 acts from as far afield as Azerbaijan and Uganda.

ONTARIO

June 21 **Tribute to Toronto**, Toronto: Roy Thomson Hall, Toronto: The Toronto Symphony Orchestra dedicates a program to the Japanese composer who died in February, two weeks after receiving the 1990 Glenn Gould Foundation Award.

QUEBEC

June 6-Sept. 1 **The Jewels of Tone**, Montreal: Montreal Museum of Contemporary Arts: A retrospective of the works of the Norwegian artist, one of the world's fore-

most audio jewelers, includes earrings, bracelets and necklaces in precious metals.

June 27-July 2 **Montreal International Jazz Festival**, One of the world's top jazz festivals annually attracts more than 1.5 million visitors to its 350 shows—half of them free of charge in the open air.

NEW BRUNSWICK

June 26-July 4 **Moncton Jazz and Blues Festival**, The 10th anniversary brings includes the Taste Ports and the gospel sounds of the 50-voice Nova Scotia Mass Choir.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

June 26-July 1 **Atlantic Canada Circus**, Confederation Centre of the Arts, Charlottetown: Seven shows from across the Maritimes, including the Halifax Circus, perform.

NOVA SCOTIA

July 12-14 **Highland Games, Antigonish**, The 33rd edition of North America's oldest annual highland games features competitions in dancing, pipe bands and Scottish athletic events, as well as cèilidh—Celtic parties—and a military tattoo.

NEWFOUNDLAND

July 22-30 **Discovery Days Celebration**, St. John's: The 40th anniversary of Newfoundland's discovery is commemorated with historical re-enactments, concerts and a special church service commemorating the 18th-century St. John's.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

July 2-13 **Under the Midnight Sun**, Northern Arts and Cultural Centre, Yellowknife: One-act plays, poetry readings and dance performances highlight this Northern summer cultural festival.

YUKON

July 6-8 **Peter Gower's Invitational Golf Tournament**, Whitehorse: The tournament, which raises money for adult literacy programs, also features a concert starring singer John McEwan and comedian Rick Mercer.

A sampling of upcoming diversions

MOVIES

Independence Day This War of the Worlds for the '90s is the movie to beat of the summer box office.
Phantom John Travolta acquires paranormal powers after being struck by lightning while light on his 37th birthday.
House Doctor Laura Linney captures the bizarre brilliance of fellow Canadian Daniel Macdonald's enigmatic movie show.
Little Sister Jodie Foster tells a murder mystery in a 10-episode British novel.

VIDEO

It Pains to Italy's sleeper hit about a peasant who delivers mail to exiled Italian poet Pablo Neruda.
Sense and Sensibility Emma Thompson leads Jane Austen into the 19th century's hottest literary property.
Dead Men Walking Sean Penn and Susan Sarandon expose high drama on death row.
Richard III Ian McKellen turns in a flamboyant version of Shakespeare's villainous monarch.
Night on Earth Woody Allen.

BOOKS

Readers' Pick Kids: *Lost* (Barrett) (Black Moon) Elementary schoolteacher Barrett has found his disappearance begins into thinking caught by police illustrated by students as young as 7.
Shakespeare's Will James Miller (University of Toronto): A comprehensive history of residential schools for natives.
Accordions G. S. Anna Pross (Dorland), Another look from the author of the memoir *Pross*, award-winning *The Shy New*.
In Search of Ancient North America: An Archaeological Journey to Forgotten Cultures Heather Pringle (Wiley): A Vancouver-based science journalist explores up the continent's earliest settlers.

AUDIO

Minsky man's Mystery Box (Dorland): The former Grateful Dead drummer, who has explored global percussion in such recent projects as the Grammy-winning *Planet Drum*, has a more pop sound.
So Wound Love (Warner): No longer an "all-girl" outfit with the addition of drummer Mike Sweeney, the Hüsker Dü releases its second album.
Karla Negretti (BMG): Accompanied by an assortment of musicians, the British singer performs original, now-classic songs by artists including Canada's Jane Siberry.
Papageno, 24 Copies for Sale (Klohn, Co.): Jane Siberry (Hearst) The debut album by the Brandon, Man.-born voice sensation.

'The end is nearish'

There is nothing new in millennial madness

**DREAMS OF MILLENNIUM:
REPORT FROM A CULTURE
ON THE BRINK**

By Mark Kingwell

(Fishing News, 372 pages, \$19.95)

Mark Kingwell has a reminder for a culture on the brink of the year 2000: there is undeniable power in the fact that we are also points out that end-times have always been periods of great anxiety and, well, rather proliferation. A professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto as well as a journalist, he explains in *Dreams of Millennium* that, while these may not be the best of times, neither are they the worst—or even the laziest. It just seems that way. Consider these snippets of modern “millennial madness”: as Kingwell calls it in Japan, a new religion called *Taiwoke* compels its several million followers to laugh at famine and disaster—and to join cream puffs in the States of Minnesota at funerals. In the United States, 57 million people claim to have been abducted by aliens, and 350 organizations predict some sort of Armageddon in the year 2000. But Kingwell argues in these linked essays that, in fact, there is nothing new under the millennial sun. “From the new vogue for prophecy to the spectre of environmental collapse to the threat of flies and locusts on our beds and gardens,” he writes, these are all “old worries in new clothes,” or “monsters from the old.”

Kingwell is like a tour guide on a time-travel bus, and his running commentary—witty, logical, probing and often witty—calls for generous tips from passengers at the end. In the 1920s, he notes, body-piercing was in vogue; in the 1450s, the renegade monk Savonarola and his followers, the *Worshippers*, turned to self-flagellation. This century ends with fresh reports of syphilis, 300 years ago, Christian missionaries called *Ramens* similarly worked themselves into spiritual hysteria that festered postmortem and low-making.

Kingwell is most convincing, however,

when he points direct connections between particular social institutions of apocalypse then and now—between millennialism, sex, and utopian. Sexily we reflect religious hysteria and the other is more about fashion. Still, Kingwell's evidence for generalized end-time fever is compelling.

The book is, on the subtlest level, a report. The author enters the territory of the taboos—he interviews visionaries and doomsayers, and attends conventions for



Kingwell, striking parallels between apocalypse then and now

devotion of alien and angels. Like the eminent scientist Stephen Jay Gould, he is a voracious reader who finds deeper meaning in common currency—the film *Pulp Fiction* or television's *Sex and the City*. The *Supernatural* of TV's *The X-Files*, which is as rich in alien as in conspiracy theories, he says, “doubt and belief thus weave through [it], they are the show's dominant tropes. These two patterns rule Kingwell, too, and they are what makes this book tick along so well.”

His insights often ring true: “disturbance of intimate level, for example, he wonders

why youth still rebel but rarely against technology. Gender problems (global water shortages) get a somewhat hearing here; characters get mostly addressed. Kingwell can be opinionated: *Pulp Fiction* director Quentin Tarantino is “a violence addict who happens to be paid handsomely to act out his gothic fantasies.” He can be funny in a delightfully cynical way—he defines “Gumpism,” after the popular film *Forrest Gump*, as “the moral elevation of simple-mindedness,” a phenomenon evidenced by the “baseball-clopping of North America.” Women can the too, as when he notes from Kingwell's own life, which included growing up in what he calls *Plague City—Winnipeg*, with its winters, floods and test categories.

At 53, Kingwell is well-positioned between youth and middle age to presume on these cultural issues. He is an intriguing mix: a skeptic who denies faithlessness, an intellectual drawn to prophetic fairs, a literary man who finds the truth of the times in television. When Kingwell calls *The Simpsons* a series without moral center, he shows himself to be less the detached thinker than the engaged critic asking more of his fellow humans. Noting that the gap between rich and poor has not been so great since the Middle Ages, he reminds the elite that with privilege must come obligation, or else. He quotes Benjamin Franklin's warning: “The palace is not safe when the cottage is not happy.”

Kingwell offers ample evidence of dread and desire, any place cause for hope and despair. But he notes that not one apocalyptic vision has ever come true. And he ends on a humanist note: “The true threat of millennial anxiety: the true apocalypse, in fact the loss and therefore promised in Revelation, the ending and punishing of earth as humans live. It is, instead, the destruction of hope, of faith in ourselves. The Armageddon we face is the elimination of the idea that there is anything we can do to make this world one in which we feel at home.”

The dream of Kingwell's book is right for these anxious times: drink a hero's bath water if need be. It was all the rage in the 1990s, contact a personal angel (or visionary) so-called sensitives charge \$5 bucks to contact you), but know that the *Sensational* Com has been a long time coming, and that the year 2000 may be humanity's writing yet a little longer. As Meyer's companion once put it, “The end is nearish.”

LAWRENCE SCANLAN



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BOOKS

a Robertson Davies's *Deptford Trilogy*, that act echoes through the generations.

Operating as both characters and archetypes, the three Piper daughters—Kathleen, Mercedes, Frances and Lily—all, in their way, bear the scars of a family history of extravagance, talent and violence. Kathleen, the eldest, is an aspiring opera diva, adored by her mother and the object of her father's ambitions. Mercedes gives herself the role of surrogate mother, the child who pleases and protects. Frances is the wild child who shuns down the driveway and at last lets out into the night of local passions. The victim of James's lust at an early age, Frances starts working in a sleazy club where she takes to the bottle, does "the Highland fling cum cactus" as she strips off her Girl Guide vestments, and manhandles lecherous men in a back alley. Lily, the crippled, youngest child is the household angel—beloved and protected by both James and Frances.

James's favorite is Kathleen. He tries desperately to suppress his passion for her as he awakes through various incarnations—as a scold during a coal miners' strike, as a soldier who is sent to the killing fields of Europe during the First World War and, finally, as a bootlegger. Kathleen, meanwhile, goes to New York City to study singing.

It is in the New York of the Roaring Twenties, of flappers and sticky jazz joints in Harlem and the challenges of conventional morality. Kathleen's voyage of sensual discovery and liberation with Rose, a black woman who is her piano accompanist, takes place in a society that is as racially and culturally diverse as today's. "I think of the century as a character," MacDonald says, "because I knew. Writing about it as it was being born was fascinating. It seems like everything happened then, artistically, scientifically, politically. Kathleen and Rose feel that family and history have no hold on them, that they are transcending themselves. But history catches them at least as much as it marks the others."

MacDonald steps herself. She does not want to give away too much. She set out to make *Pull on Your Knees* a ripping good read, rife with red towels and tears. But MacDonald had another, less obvious goal in mind, too. "Everything I've ever written is about diversity," she says. "It's about the fight to make the world larger, not smaller, to welcome what is, not what we prefer. It's a child, but actually I'm a better writer than I am a teacher. For a while, I can write good novels but I'm bad at neoplatonic aphorisms." Another promising voice in the increasingly varied world of English Canadian fiction, Anne-Marie MacDonald has written a novel that, at its core, attempts the awkward mix of race and difference.



Films

Full-metal racket

A blockbuster really assaults the senses

THE ROCK

Directed by Michael Bay

The summer's latest blockbuster is an action movie for those who find *Baywatch* too slow and *Matrix* impossible to cry-bribe—a military exercise in specialising for people who like to be assaulted in no uncertain terms. True to its type, *The Rock* sties a full-metal racket. It locks off with a solid premise: Two violent convicts arrive the former prison on Alcatraz Island, take a bunch of tourists hostage and set up missiles armed with enough poison gas to

movie that consistently opts for dumb action over smart intrigue. The labyrinthine depths of Alcatraz invite mystery, but the film-makers choose mayhem, turning the prison into a theme-park ride through movie cliché—say, some even has Cary and Cage whizzing through tunnels on runaway rail cars.

The Rock has altogether too many heroes, each with his own octane level of testosterone. Cage plays a Volvo-driving scientist who is suddenly hit to prove he can kick serious butt. As his fatherly superior, who turns out to be a retired British agent, Cunnery resembles his porting



decimate nearby San Francisco. Led by an unbridled war hero (Ed Harris), they are demanding benefits for families of U.S. soldiers killed in covert actions. But instead of simply forcing open the money, the authorities send in a navy strike force, along with an FBI chemical-weapons expert (Nicolas Cage). And to help them break into Alcatraz, they recruit an incarcerated science artist (Sean Connery), the only convict ever known to have broken out of it.

The first sign that the film-makers seem to lack conviction is their story opens early on, with an extravagant car chase through San Francisco. As a yellow Ferrari cruises the city's hills, sending trucks and buses fleeing the queue, it turns into a car-scare sequel to *Die Hard*. It is a pointless scene, setting the tone for a

James Bond machine. Harris, meanwhile, plays a military man in overdrive. But even he is a heroic villain—a noble patriot with an overdeveloped sense of justice.

During balls in the action, Cage and Cunnery are up an amazing chemistry, like a couple of football players trading caps on the beach during a time-out. But the frantic, best-selling director of Michael Bay (*Bad Boys*) loses them their life: room. The action here to care their seconds from a film full of noise and nonsense—including a toxic variety of racist, sexist and homophobic stereotypes. The *Rock* has all the makings of a hit it needs. But, with its three-chord script and goose-step pacing, the style is strictly heavy metal.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

MAGAZINE/JUNE 17, 1996 \$5

Allan Fotheringham



Lucien, Bob Dole and the gift of the Mighty Ducks

Sure, Dr. Fick, how propitious it is to perceive your penmanship about the perimeter.

Elucidate, precisely, the phantom-suspected veracity of ignorance as your cerebral chambers.

Well, yes, I'm having trouble getting excited about the Stanley Cup.

There is no such thing as the Stanley Cup.

They're renamed it?

No, but it has ceased to exist. When the Colorado Avalanche are playing the Florida Panthers in one national game the Stanley Cup has ceased to exist. As a matter of fact, it disappeared when they allowed into the league a sparkling force called the Anaheim Mighty Ducks. Ball game over.

You sound bitter.

Not at all. In a world in which McDonald's has now merged with Disney, there is no use being bitter. Rupert Murdoch, as a matter of fact, is considering buying Disney and changing its name.

You sound slightly smugly today. Can't you give us the answer, then?

Certainly. Lucien Beauchard now seems as out of it as Mr. Clinton. Perhaps it's the water. Both of them change their minds more often than their underwear.

That's good?

Of course. At last we have achieved equality. No one can take either of them seriously. This has a calming effect on the head. Besides, I don't read a word of what either of them say. For the next two years, you won't miss a thing.

I thought Beauchard just had a successful vote in American positions on Bill Clinton and in New England?

Very successful. So successful that Lucien developed a severe case of amnesia. He couldn't remember being questioned by his issue about Quebec separation until reporters produced evidence that he had.

So?

This is good news. The most boots of amnesia that hit him, the better in time, he will even forget that he once wanted Quebec to separate.

Are you serious?

Yes, always serious. There will never be another separation referendum in Quebec. You read it here first.

Why a mighty vote, do you say that?



Because the weary Quebec voters have in the past four years had to drag themselves to the polls to vote on the Charlottetown record, a federal election, a provincial election and a separation referendum. They are more sick than we are of constitutionalism. Treat me.

Random me, sure. One you share as with any more predictions?

Certainly. Gordon Campbell, who just blew the election in British Columbia, will be gone in two years.

Depend on that?

No, resigned. As his wife says, he likes to govern but doesn't like politics. He should choose a small South American country as his new colony. They don't have politics there either. Politics is a bothersome thing. It's called democracy.

And?

Stephane Dion should shut up. Christ's new who-kid thinks he's still up the backside of his cousin's room at lunch, making over sherry and bad sandwiches, debating how many separatists can dance on the head of a pin. Now he's opening his pig before every literary club, throwing out loads. Sorry Lucien has lapsed into anarchy, Dion should just take a view of himself for six months.

Do you have anything trivial to say?

Certainly. For the first time in history, no one knows the name of the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the Commons. It has become a Trivial Pursuit question. It appears knows the answer, Marianne will send you a clock radio.

Does anyone know who Preston Manning is?

No.

Any more brilliant insights?

They are never-ending. Bill Clinton on Nov. 5 will be recognized as the most frustrating, talented president since Theodore Roosevelt. Despite Whitehousegate?

There is not a single person in the United States of America, including lawyers, who understands Whitehousegate. You must remember, Richard Nixon was elected with the then largest mandate ever by American voters after the Watergate breach was discovered. It took years, and The Washington Post, to an honest man.

But even the Americans, who have turned both issues of Congress over to the Republicans, going to embrace Republican Bob Dole?

The Republicans have a problem. Bob Dole by election day will be 73. To show up Clinton's drill-did-pag "character" problem, they emphasize that Dole nearly died in July in 1945 in his national uniform.

Sounds good to me.

Sounds irrelevant to any lady (senior voter who doesn't know 50-year names like Anzo and Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge and D-Day and D-Day. Just reminds them that this guy must be like, really, old).

Go, Dr. Fick, you certainly do flummox the sensibility.

Feel free.

Would you



MIND DYING

for a moment?

It's hard to imagine, but

maybe you should take a few minutes to think the unthinkable. What would happen if you finally? How would the mortgage be paid? Who would take care of the kids' university costs?

People with life insurance have the answer. It's then to ensure that the people you care about are provided for when you're not there to do it.

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